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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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13 September 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

#### CONTENTS

##### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Hungarian KRITIKA Article Attacked by Romanians (Dinu C. Giurgescu, Al. Gh. Savu; MAGAZIN ISTORIC, Mar 85) .....	1
Briefs	
Hungarian Writers to Romania	11

##### ALBANIA

Hoxha's Support of Marxist-Leninist Parties Recalled (Agim Popa; ZERI I POPULLIT, 19 Jun 85) .....	12
---	----

##### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Foreign Minister Chnoupek Concludes FRG Visit (RUDE PRAVO, 24 Aug 85) .....	16
Daily on MI-5 'Control' of BBC (Bedrich Zagar; PRAVDA, 21 Aug 85) .....	18
Prague TV on Ideological Subversion (Prague Television Service, 26 Aug 85) .....	20
Academy Shows Concern for Agriculture, Environment (Miroslav Vyskot; TVORBA, 7 Aug 85) .....	29
Briefs	
Voluntary Police Helpers	33

##### GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Use of Microelectronics in Armored Vehicles Examined (D. Ernst, G. Wagner; MILITAERTECHNIK, No 4, 1985) ....	34
---	----

## HUNGARY

Change in New Enterprise Leadership Forms Described, Criticized (Jeno Farago; MAGYARORSZAG, No 33, 18 Aug 85) .....	45
Population's Income Burdened by Taxes, Loan Repayments (Istvan Garamvolgyi; MAGYARORSZAG, No 33, 18 Aug 85)....	49
Peter Racz To Head News Agency's New Delhi Bureau (MAGYARORSZAG, No 33, 18 Aug 85) .....	53
Police Powers Increased To Curb Dissidents (MAGYAR KOZLONY, 20 Jul 85) .....	55
Briefs	
GDR-Hungarian Environment Agreement	62
Earthquake Damage	62

## POLAND

Party Claims Rebuilding Going Well (PAP, 18 Jul 85) .....	63
Kwiatkowski Responds to Criticism of Poll (Stanislaw Kwiatkowski; POLITYKA, 10 Aug 85) .....	65
Olszowski on Importance of Journalists' Ties With Polonia (PAP, 18 Jul 85) .....	69
Kwiatkowski Poll on Economic Situation (Stanislaw Kwiatkowski; POLITYKA, No 30, 27 Jul 85).....	70
Sociology Professor Looks at Pole's Anxieties (Mikolaj Kozakiewicz Interview; POLITYKA, No 28, 13 Jul 85) .....	75
How Public Views Militia Surveyed (PRAWO I ZYCIE, No 32, 10 Aug 85) .....	81
Osmanczyk Explains Article in Independent Journal (POLITYKA, No 32, 10 Aug 85) .....	83
Panel Discussion on Political Language (ODRODZENIE, No 28, 14 Jul 85) .....	84
Sejm Debate on Amendments to Union Statutes (RZECZPOSPOLITA, 26 Jul 85) .....	93
Gabrielski Presents Bill, by St. Gabrielski	93
Statements From Deputies, by Stanislaw Baranik, et al.	100
Floor Debate Supports Amendments, by Janina Legowska	103

## ROMANIA

Ceausescu's Views on Relations Among States (Victor Duculescu; ERA SOCIALISTA, No 12, 25 Jun 85).....	105
Need To Assert Revolutionary Spirit (Viorel Popescu; ERA SOCIALISTA, No 12, 25 Jun 85) .....	113
Strategy of Building Multilaterally Developed Society (Aurelian Cosmatchi; ERA SOCIALISTA, No 12, 25 Jun 85)....	121

## YUGOSLAVIA

Belgrade Professor Discusses Nationalism, Kosovo (Kosta Mihailovic Interview; INTERVJU, 19 Jul 85) .....	129
Professor Dragicevic Interviewed on Bureaucratic Power (Adolf Dragicevic Interview; DUGA, No 297, 14 Jul 85).....	141
Ruin of Vojvodina Churches Contrasted to Movie Financing (Dinko Davidov; KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, 15 Jun 85).....	152

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

HUNGARIAN KRITIKA ARTICLE ATTACKED BY ROMANIANS

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Mar 85 pp 23-26

[Article by Dinu C. Giurgescu and Al. Gh. Savu: "A Past Condemned by History"]

[Text] To whom is this of use? That is the question that any goodwilled person can ask when he reads the studied carried out by Istvan Bibo, "The Beginnings of Hungarian Democracy," and published in issue No 9/1984 of KRITIKA, under the guidance of Sandor Szilagyi and with the title "From the Legacy of Istvan Bibo." Therefore, actually, to whom is this of use and what use is there in once again circulating by way of this study certain outdated theses by the ideologues of revisionism and Horthyist revanchism?

From the great school of the history of the peoples of Central and Southeastern Europe we have learned that the progress and prosperity of each are influenced by the worth, knowledge and mutual respect of these peoples and by the development of cooperation among them.

In this atmosphere, one that has especially been put forth since the Second World War, one can legitimately ask the question who can find use in the efforts of certain collaborators at the magazine KRITIKA to shed tears on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy? To whom is it of use to bring up to date certain theses and concepts manipulated by the ruling classes in Hungary in order to attack back in those days the system of peace treaties that had been concluded after the First World War? Without a doubt, it is those who are determined to contribute to maintaining a state of agitation and to instigating the Hungarian people and other peoples concerning the existing historical realities in the world today.

But, who is Istvan Bibo? A name little known in Romania, he is "well thought of," as Sandor Szilagyi states, in the journalistic realm in Hungary as a politician, historian and hurist. We find out in the introduction to this work that this study was written in March-April 1946, and it is in fact an "official report" carried out by Istvan Bibo in his position as chief of the Public Administration Department in the Ministry of the Interior, at the request of the office of document preparation for the Paris Peace Conference of 1946-1947.

Istvan Bibo's opinions and judgements in this study regarding the domestic situation in Hungary before and after 1944 and regarding the origins and evolution of democracy

in Hungary, the system of political parties, the electoral system and so forth, are things which certainly interest readers in Hungary. We will not permit ourselves to make judgements concerning this problem. In this study, however, there is also put forth a series of theses which seriously distort important moments in the history of the Romanian people and Romanian-Hungarian relations, and about which we cannot allow ourselves to be indifferent. The publication of a material carried out at the request of those tied to an ill-fated mentality of the past and who hoped that the peace treaties concluded after World War II would be able to contribute to the cause of Hungary - in the sense of keeping the territories of other countries that had been conquered by the Horthyist regime during the period 1938-1941 - a study brought forward to today without an comments or critical notes on the part of the editor, does nothing but utter revanchist and revisionist ideas and propagate anti-Romanian points of view gathered from the arsenal of imperialist policies.

Moving along the line of history, Istvan Bibó makes references to the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849 and its lessons. In this context, he states: "After an heroic struggle for a year and one-half, the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-1849 was defeated by the two great reactionary powers of the time in Europe. But, for the development of Hungarian democracy the defeat itself was not fatal, but rather the fact that at that time, when it alone in Eastern Europe supported the ideas of liberty, democracy and state independence, it found itself faced with inhabitants of the country who spoke another language who, because of the language injustices suffered within the framework of the Hungarian state, allied themselves with Austria and Russia, representing the cause of reaction against the Hungarian nation which had identified itself with the cause of democracy... The greatest dream of the Hungarian democratic movement was an independent and democratic country within the framework of historical Hungary." Without denying the progressive social nature of the Hungarian Revolution against the feudal Habsburg aristocracy, there appears in Istvan Bibó's conclusions a clear inconsistency between "democracy" and maintaining "historical Hungary," an inconsistency which the author, as well as his editor, deliberately quietly pass over. What kind of democracy could have existed for the nations that were locked within the borders of "historical Hungary?" Here is what Marx said about this type of "democracy" in 1848: "When the revolution broke out in February 1848, the Hungarians thought that the moment had arrived to build the great Hungarian homeland upon the ruins of the other nationalities, the powerful and vigorous Hungarian nation" (K. Marx, "Notes About the Romanians" (edited manuscripts), Bucharest, 1964). Actually, "the democrats" of Budapest adopted a constitution which had decided in article 7 to annex Transylvania to Hungary, naturally not only without consulting the Romanians - the majority people - but against their will. As is known, in May 1848 at Blaj, the Romanian people in Transylvania requested its national independence and "unification with its country" on the basis of the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. "The national cause is gaining ground," noted K. Marx. He characterized the Romanians' struggle in the Kingdom of Hungary in 1848 as a "national war."

But, Istvan Bibó is of another opinion: that in 1848-1849 "Hungary was in the vanguard of the democratic struggle for liberty!" For whom was this liberty and what type of liberty? These are questions for which we do not find answers either from the author or from the editor of his study.

In reality, the 1848 program involving bringing together for the most part certain foreign territories that were inhabited by peoples more numerous than the Hungarian people and who were to be held within the "apostolic kingdom" by force and denationalized under a new oppressor regime established in the place of the Habsburg regime. It was precisely this political concept that brought about the extraordinary growth of resistance and the struggle for the national liberation of the Romanians, Czechs, Slovaks and many other peoples within this multinational empire. This fact pushed the promoters and supporters of "Greater Hungary" - too weak to achieve this "ideal" situation through their own means - to the 1867 creation of Austro-Hungarian dualism. It was "that compromise," as it is called by Istvan Bibó, "the essence of which was a partial independence, a partial democracy, but the maintenance of a state framework of historical Hungary."

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Romanians' struggle for national liberation from the dual monarchy, as well as the struggle of the other peoples who were oppressed, reached an apogee in 1918, when, on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, sovereign, independent and unified countries were created or themselves carried out their national unity. As V. I. Lenin had pointed out in 1916, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was not a "political organization of a bourgeois state, but merely a frail union of several cliques of social parasites" and "the elimination of Austro-Hungary historically represents nothing more than a continuation of the dissolution of Turkey, with this also being a necessity in the historical process of development" (V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 30, Bucharest, 1964, p 8).

Thus, at the end of 1918 the victory of the principle of nationalities and the right of the people to self-determination was an irreversible reality, a victory that had been obtained by peoples themselves oppressed at the end of a long struggle against all those domestic and foreign forces interested in preserving the old state of affairs. This new reality could no longer be changed through cabinet decisions or "understandings" at the treaty negotiations.

The Paris Peace Conference of 1919-1920, keeping in mind the historical realities, the will of the people and the irreversible processes that had taken place, recognized and formalized on an international legal level those national states that had been brought together or created within their ethnic borders. Thus, the Peace Treaty with Hungary signed at Trianon in June 1920 recognized the return of Transylvania to its mother country - Romania - within its natural borders, as had been decided by the Romanian people by virtue of the right of self-determination at the Grand National Assembly at Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918.

Istvan Bibó, taking the line of action of the ruling classes within the Austro-Hungarian Empire and making a game of the aristocracy and large Hungarian landowners who were living the nostalgia of the positions that had been held during the former dual empire, states that: "The Treaty of Trianon was not placed of the solid bases of the ethnic principles and self-determination that were capable of replacing the historical principle, but rather in the course of

dividing historical Hungary it reduced Hungary, on a number of points, to a territory that was narrower than its own ethnic frontiers."

We find ourselves, in fact, in the presence of a basic thesis of Horthyist revisionism which noisily trumpets the outdated concept of recreating historical Hungary, falsifying reality and distorting information regarding the ethnic structure of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. We know of the policy carried out by the rulers in Budapest during the time of the Austro-Hungarian duality for the forced Magyarization of Romanians in Transylvania, as well as the other peoples there. It is worthwhile for us to point out the opinions of the recognized French geographer Jacques Ancel who, indignant about the organized assault of the Hungarian aristocracy against Romanian culture in Transylvania, wrote: "There is a Magyarization of the primary schools, including kindergarten. Since 1879, Romanian children from 3 to 6 years of age are required to go to kindergartens where only Hungarian is spoken. The number of non-Hungarian schools has fallen from 58 percent to 14 percent. Of 40,596 students in secondary schools during the period 1880-1890, 72 percent were Hungarian and 6 percent were Romanian. Of the 58 professors at the University of Cluj not a single one is Romanian and Cluj is the only Transylvanian university. In the student body, 72.6 percent of the students are Hungarian and 11.6 percent are Romanian... There is a Magyarization of geographic names and there is even a Magyarization of family names!" (Jacques Ancel, "Les frontieres roumaines. Geographie politique," 1934). But, despite all this policy of forced denationalization, the official censuses that were carried out even by the Hungarian authorities could not but recognize the majority presence of the Romanians in Transylvania. Thus, for example, the censuses point out the following data:

	1880	1890	1900	1910
Romanians	2,290,424	2,556,444	2,763,674	2,909,260
in percent	47.4	47.98	47.20	46.20
Hungarians	916,628	1,146,990	1,394,647	1,617,231
in percent	18.94	21.50	23.80	25.70

Throughout the overall dual monarchy the situation was much more disproportionate. In referring to the Habsburg Empire, Fr. Engels correctly stated even in the last century that "this motley complex that has resulted from succession and pilfering, this organized confusion in which ten languages and ten peoples are jumbled together, this happenstance mixture of customs and laws that are among the most contradictory is finally beginning to unravel" (K. Marx, Fr. Engels, "Works," Vol 4, Bucharest, 1958, p 511).

Thus, these things show the so-called "ethnic principles" and "ethnic frontiers" that Istvan Bibó invokes in his complaint.

These truths should be told to the Hungarian people so that these people will know that Transylvania never was part of the Hungarian lands, but rather a territory conquered by the Hungarian Kingdom. It is true that within the territory of Transylvania a population of Hungarian origin was also established over the last millenium. This linked their fate to the destiny of the Romanian people, contributing to the creation of material and spiritual values and struggling together with the Romanians in the decisive moments of history for freedom and social justice.

After 1918, Hungarian reactionaries and the exploiting classes tried to transform the nationality problem into a political principle used for the purpose of reacquiring territories that did not belong to them. The rulers in Budapest contested the legitimacy of the documents on the self-determination for the peoples from the former monarchy; they contested the legitimacy of the principle of nationalities as a basis of the new political and territorial order in Central and Southeastern Europe; and they contested the validity and viability of the system of peace treaties of Paris, including the Treaty of Trianon. On this basis, the arsenal of revisionist Hungarian arguments against the order established by the people in 1918 was constantly enriched during the inter-war period.

In the analysis done by the Horthyist regime, Istvan Bibó finds nothing to criticize in Hungary's aggressive foreign policy, but furthermore justifies it, pointing out that the unjust provisions of the Treaty of Trianon legitimized the revisionism of the Budapest government, and pushed "Hungary along the path of fascism... The injustices done to the Hungarians who remained behind the borders established at Trianon supported the illusion of an intact historical Hungary."

In distorting the irreversible laws of history, Istvan Bibó gives credit to the idea that Hungary's slide towards fascism was due perhaps to the Treaty of Trianon. It was not the Treaty of Trianon that brought about the establishment of fascism in Hungary, but rather the policies of the exploiting classes and their desperate attempt to retake their economic and political positions that they had during the time of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and to continue the oppression and annexation of other peoples and territories. The telling evidence of this situation lies in the fact that after the conclusion of peace, as a result of the rise to the helm of the Hungarian state of the working class and the democratic and patriotic forces that sprang up after the second world war, Hungary did not again slide towards fascism and revisionism, but started out along the democratic, progressive path of cooperation with the neighboring countries and all the countries of the world.

It is a known fact that during the entire interbellum years Horthyist Hungary promoted a policy of force and diktat and of revision of the peace treaties and borders. On this basis, Horthyist Hungary - not being able to attain its goals by way of its own efforts, was transformed into an agent of Hitlerist Germany,

an advanced pawn of Nazi imperialism and international reactionaries in Central and Southeastern Europe. It maintained a psychosis of a lack of security in this geographic region and of discord and poison in international relations, constituting a continuing threat to the independence and integrity of neighboring states. In first of all refusing to cooperate with the neighboring peoples and their friendly advances that were made throughout 2 decades, Horthyist Hungary in exchange was actively integrated into the aggressive, expansionist policy of the Axis, which pushed it along towards disaster. In 1938, under the patronage of Hitlerist Germany, Horthyist Hungary conquered parts of the territory of Czechoslovakia, in 1940 it took the northwest part of Romania and in 1941 its occupied parts of the national territory of Yugoslavia. The nature of the policy of force and diktat that was carried out by Horthyist Hungary and its aggressive acts, as well as its direct participation in the destruction of international peace, security and stability exercised a negative influence upon the European climate, which incontestably placed it among those forces which set the stage for and unleashed the second world war.

In the vortex of the second great worldwide conflagration and the Hitlerist war against the Soviet Union, Horthyist Hungary played a significant role alongside the Axis powers and especially the German Reich. In stressing this aspect, the Hungarian historian Kallai Gyula writes: "Horthy supported all the actions of the Fascist powers of the Axis. Immediately after Hitlerist Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, he allied himself with this plundering war. Obtaining a revision of the Treaty of Trianon was the main argument put forth by the Hungarian reactionaries in justifying their alliance with Hitlerist fascism" (Kallai Gyula, "The Movement for the Independence of Hungary (1936-1945)," fifth edition, Budapest, 1965, p 30).

Along this line, the chief of the general staff of the Hungarian army, H. Vert, in a memorandum addressed to the government argued that the moment had arrived to employ all economic and military power on the side of Nazi Germany in the war against the USSR. "If we delay our entrance to the war, we will be forced to renounce, perhaps forever, future territorial claims against Romania and we may even endanger everything that we have obtained to date" ("The History of Diplomacy," Vol IV, edited by A. A. Gromyko, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, Moscow, Publishing House for Political Literature, 1975, pp 104-105).

In examining the events that marked the last part of the second world war, Istvan Bibó draws the false conclusion that if the Horthyist regime, its direct successor or eventually another one dressed in the clothes of democracy had succeeded in pulling Hungary out of the alliance with the Reich just a little earlier, then it would have been possible to save at least a part of the neighboring territories that had been unjustly occupied by Horthy. In this regard, Istvan Bibó writes: "Hungary's withdrawal from the second world war was poorly prepared both from the technical and diplomatic points of view. Its fall in a single afternoon was complete. The Hungarian patriots who had suffered under German domination waited desperately after 15 October to receive news via the

radio that would inform them that one of the legitimate representatives of the Hungarian government would establish - somewhere on the Hungarian territory occupied by the Red Army - a government that would call an armistice. But, the foreign radio stations," he continues, "merely announced the crossing over of certain generals and soldiers, calls for national resistance, but nowhere was there any news about the creation of a government. After several weeks of desperate waiting, the Hungarian patriots were surprised to find out that the fall of Hungary was much worse than the fall of Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Finland..."

By historically placing such different situations on the same level, the author extends the term "fall" to certain events of national and European scope, such as the Revolution for National and Social, Antifascist and Anti-Imperialist Liberation in Romania, so as to quietly create the structure for the ideas that he wishes to put forth. From these false premises, he arrives at the equally false conclusion that Hungary would have had the chance to save something from the "legacy" of Horthy's conquests if it succeeded in making a timely "turn" of the type that took place on 23 August 1944 in Romania: In this regard, Istvan Bibó writes, "Hungarian public opinion bitterly notes the fact that the Romanians, who participated in much greater numbers in the war alongside the Germans, through their more capable political organization of a withdrawal from the war accrued many advantages which cannot but be a reward for the fact that they were more capable." This aberrant statement denotes on the part of the author a willful, tendentious distortion of the truth regarding the crucial moments in the history of our party and people in its struggle for freedom and unity and for the right to be masters in its own country.

It is a known fact that the Romanian Communist Party militated from the beginning with complete consistency for a policy of peace and cooperation, uniting the national forces against the aggressive policies of fascism and war. The progressive forces and broad popular masses, led by the communists, took decisive positions against the oppressive actions of Hitler's Germany and against the aggression unleashed by it against the Soviet Union, strongly condemning Romania's involvement in this war that was contrary to the interests of the Romanian people. The Romanian Communist Party mobilized and united the most diverse facets of the population against the Hitlerist war, organizing the struggle of partisan groups and patriotic detachments in order to sabotage the Hitlerist war machine, and achieving the national resistance of the Romanian people which permitted the overthrow of the military-fascist dictatorship and Romania's alignment with the anti-Hitler coalition.

In its substance, the real and main feature of the entire web of falsehoods knowingly created by Istvan Bibó is to give credit to the thesis that the repeal of the Fascist Diktat of Vienna, the return of the northern part of Transylvania to the mother country - Romania, and the recognition of these realities by the powers belonging to the United Nations and by all the countries of the world did not constitute necessary and natural acts of justice and equity in accordance with the imprescriptible rights of the Romanian people, but rather was due to chance,

with the Romanians getting ahead of their neighbors to the west by virtue of their "capability" and obtaining disputed land like a trophy as if it could have just as well been someone else's. Istvan Bibó points out: "The first and most important task with regards to the problem itself of a peace treaty should be to draw the lessons of the psychological effects of the Treaty of Trianon, concluding a peace treaty that would respect the firm principles on the basis of which it was drawn up," warning that without obtaining certain territories the psychosis given to the Hungarian people by the Treaty of Trianon would be maintained.

It is known that German fascism and the Axis powers, together with Hungary, had as their program the revision of borders and the enslavement of Europe and the peoples of the world. Against these ultrareactionary forces and this destructive program, the people of the world arose in struggle, with all the anti-Hitlerist forces making giant material and human sacrifices for the cause of freedom and for the destruction of fascism, this scourge of humanity. As a result, these forces succeeded in defeating fascism and destroyed its blind claims. How could Istvan Bibó imagine that it would be possible, after this defeat, that the liberated peoples and the coalition of United Nations would reestablish and approve the territorial amputations carried out by fascism and revisionism? Only those people outdated by reality, without basic logic could still hope for the overturning of the real relationships of justice and liberty. The borders established after the second world war do not represent a question of psychology, as Istvan Bibó states. They represent a reality, an historical justice acquired through the will and struggles of the people, and the unification of Transylvania with the mother country - Romania - was an irreversible process which no new treaty can change.

To today raise the issue of a new treaty, regardless of who raised the issue and when, means promoting a revanchist spirit and playing to imperialist reactionary circles.

Let us once again address the facts in order to reestablish the truth in these questions. And, the truth is that during the second world war - except for Horthy's regime and the two fascist powers in whose service Hungary was - all the countries and all the peoples in the anti-Hitlerist camp continued to see the fascist Diktat of Vienna as null and void and to consider the northern part of Transylvania as belonging to Romania, that there was no talk of "capability" or "political quickness," but rather talk of an historical right and Romanian territory. The voiding of the Diktat of Vienna took place between 30 August and 25 October 1944 when, expressing the will of all the Romanian people, the Romanian Army in cooperation with the Soviet Army defeated the troops of the Hitlerist-Horthyist occupation in the northwest part of the country and reunited the northern part of Transylvania with the mother country.

Romania did not thus "win" a territory - the northern part of Transylvania - since no one "wins" that which de jure and de facto belongs to it, but rather regain possession of that portion of its ancient land that had been stolen

by the Horthyist regime. Hungary did not "lose" a territory, but was forced by armed forces to abandon this Romanian land that had been invaded 4 years earlier by way of the fascist Diktat of Vienna.

The distorted presentation of the historic event of August 1944, of Romania's turning of forces as a question of "capability," as a type of competition with Hungary is an insult to the democratic, antifascist forces in our country and, at the same time, a profanity to the memory of the hundreds of thousands of Romanian soldiers and patriots who fought and sacrificed their lives for the liberation of their ancient land, as well as Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Austria, until the final victory over fascism.

The 1946-1947 Paris Peace Conference annulled the fascist Diktat of Vienna, reestablishing the natural rights of Romania, and declared null and void all the territorial acquisitions obtained by the fascist and revisionist aggressors. The countries participating in the Peace Conference unanimously condemned Horthyist revisionism and firmly rejected all the attempts of the Hungarian delegation to bargain with those nations which had made the supreme material and human sacrifices in order to defeat fascism for the purpose of once again taking away certain parts of the territories of neighboring countries. That is why it seems strange to see the initiative of the magazine KRITIKA to spread by way of Istvan Bibo's study historical falsehoods that try to revitalize revisionist and revanchist policies.

Regardless of the reasons and hidden motives that could guide the editorial staff of the magazine KRITIKA when it decided to publish Istvan Bibo's study, this initiative can only but awaken the legitimate question: "Who does this serve? This can be asked since, clearly, by way of this study poisonous, revisionist and anti-Romanian these are put forth in flagrant contradiction not only with the historical truth, but also with the principles of international relations and norms that were established between countries and nations after the second world war.

The publication of such false, reactionary and revanchist theses does not serve the noble purposes of truth and historical justice and cannot but lead to disharmony between two neighboring countries, with this being a contradiction to the interests of our peoples of living in peace. Workers, communists and any honest man and patriot both in Romania and in Hungary must firmly militate to put an end to policies of feuding as promoted by the exploiting classes of the past and to work to bring our peoples together and strengthen friendship and cooperation between them.

Through its policies, the Romanian Communist Party has ensured the conditions so that all the citizens of our country will enjoy fully equal rights and the advances of civilization and can express themselves in an unrestricted way in all areas of activity. This policy has been consistently followed and will be continued for the purpose of the prosperity of our country, the cause of peace and closeness among peoples.

In this spirit, the press in our country will earn its title of honor by working against the state of affairs as they were in the past, by militating for the continuing development of relationships of cooperation and being good neighbors, and by promoting everything that unites our people on the path to progress and civilization and of building a socialist and communist society.

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CSO: 2700/ 147

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

HUNGARIAN WRITERS TO ROMANIA--In the framework of the agreement on exchanges during 1985 between the writers unions in the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Hungarian Peoples Republic, an official delegation of writers from the neighboring and friendly country, headed by Miklos Hubay, chairman of the Writers Union of the Hungarian Peoples Republic, was in Romania 25-29 June. The following were members of the delegation: Anna Barnassin, Jozsef Bogel, Jozsef Czimer, Iren Hubay, Dezso Meszoly, and Istvan Szarazpataky. On this occasion there was a discussion of current issues of dramaturgy in Romania and Hungary, in which the following participated, along with the guests: Paul Cornel Chitic, Paul Everac, Zsolt Galfalvi, Gyoza Hajdu, Mircea Radu Iacoban, Theodor Manescu, Dinu Sararu, Valentin Silvestru, Dumitru Solomon, Marin Sorescu, and Andras Suto. Alexandru Balaci, George Balaita and Geza Domokos were also present. On 27 June, Miklos Hubay was received by Comrade Suzana Gadea, Chairman of the Central Council of Socialist Culture and Education in the Socialist Republic of Romania. During their visit to Romania, the guests met with Romanian writers and representatives of the press, radio and television, they had working meetings, went to shows, and visited new sections of the city, museums and other cultural-artistic and tourist attractions in Bucharest and Constanta County. [Text] [Bucharest ROMANIA LITERARA in Romanian 4 Jul 85 p 2]

CSO: 2700/205

ALBANIA

# HOXHA'S SUPPORT OF MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES RECALLED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 19 Jun 85, pp 3, 4

[Article by Prof Agim Popa: "Enver Hoxha - Ardent Internationalist, Supporter and Great Friend of Marxist-Leninists"]

[Text] In the comprehensive revolutionary activity of Comrade Enver Hoxha, an important place is occupied by the problems of the communist and revolutionary movement of our time. "Enver Hoxha," emphasized Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the AWP, during the memorial meeting at the burial of Comrade Enver Hoxha, "is an illustrious figure in international communism. He was as much an ardent patriot as an ardent internationalist. His struggle and work, dedicated to the advancement of the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat, to the defense of Marxism-Leninism and to the support of the national and social liberation of peoples represent a shining example of devoted consecration to the cause of communism. True Marxist-Leninist fighters have had in Comrade Enver Hoxha a comrade and a friend who has always supported and encouraged them fraternally."

At the time when the counterrevolutionary waves of modern revisionism - a constituent part of the strategy of world imperialism - were rising, when revisionism, masked by slogans of "the creative development of Marxism-Leninism," had become preponderant in the international workers' and communist movement, causing deep confusion among the revolutionary forces and peoples, it was Comrade Enver Hoxha who boldly raised the voice of truth, who illuminated the darkness created by the revisionists, and who gave the signal for the historic struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism. Again, it was Enver Hoxha who, on the basis of a thorough and comprehensive analysis, argued that so-called "Mao Tse-tungism" has nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, but is a disguised variant of modern revisionism, which disorients and sabotages the revolutionary movement and leads it into delusion and defeat. The principled struggle of the AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha, and his contribution to delineating the demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism, constituted one of the important factors which gave powerful stimulation to the process of differentiation and division in the bosom of the communist and workers' movement and to the birth and development of true Marxist-Leninist parties and forces.

In opposing Chinese preaching for a "united front" with the revisionists and their attempts to hinder the organization of Marxist-Leninist forces, Comrade

Enver Hoxha stressed: "It is resolved today, according to the thought of our party, not to unite with the revisionists, but to break with them definitively. It has also been resolved today to create new Marxist-Leninist parties and to give them the needed assistance."

The spread of revisionism brought with it not only the abandonment of the banner of revolution on the part of former communist parties of many countries, but also their complete ideological, political and organizational degeneration into parties of the social democratic type. The problem raised was that the roots of this degeneration should be analyzed, the Leninist principles and norms of the vanguard revolutionary party of the working class should be defended in theory and practice, and the new Marxist-Leninist parties and forces should be helped, in order to liberate them from every negative influence inherited from the old parties and in order to construct them on a sound foundation, in accordance with the concrete conditions of their activities and struggle, illegal and legal, and with the historic tasks which they assumed. In this vital matter, Enver Hoxha was always found with the Marxist-Leninists. With deep internationalist feeling, in dozens of social meetings and conversations with them and in a great number of his works and writings, he gave broad treatment to questions of the organization, construction, education and tempering of new Marxist-Leninist parties; he advised them fraternally and he encouraged them in revolutionary action; he placed at their disposal his great knowledge and experience as an illustrious communist organizer and leader.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's attitude toward the revolutionary and liberation movement of our time was always an active and militant one; he dedicated a considerable part of his theoretical work and his struggle to it. In such major works as "Imperializmi dhe Revolucioni" [Imperialism and Revolution] and "Eurokomunizmi eshte Antikomunizem" [Eurocommunism is Anticommunism], in his reports made at the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th and other party congresses, as well as in a great number of writings, meetings and notes, he devoted special attention to the key problems of principle in the strategy and tactics of the contemporary revolutionary and liberation movement encountered in our time by Marxist-Leninist parties and forces, by true revolutionaries and by peoples. The theoretical thought of Comrade Enver Hoxha in this area is distinguished by the broad scope of problems that it treats. The Marxist-Leninist analysis of features of the revolutionary process of our time, of the relation between the proletarian revolution and the anti-imperialist and democratic one, of motivating forces and their internal and external enemies in various zones and conditions, the work of Marxist-Leninist parties among the working class and its allies and the exploitation of contradictions in the ranks of the enemies, the question of cooperation, alliances and united fronts with other forces, the revolutionary activity of Marxist-Leninists under conditions of bourgeois illegality and legality, their attitude toward bourgeois elections and toward armed struggle, etc. - these are only a few of the problems of strategy and tactics on which Enver Hoxha gave his weighty views and to which he made a very valuable theoretical and practical contribution on behalf of the revolutionary movement of our time.

The fundamental prominent characteristic of Comrade Enver Hoxha's theoretical work is the close connection with revolutionary practice, the extraction of real problems from the living practice of struggle and in its service. He not only reasoned that in our time, the world is in a phase when the question of

revolution and the national liberation of peoples is not just an aspiration and a prospect, but is also a problem that must be resolved. He shows, analyzes and argues concretely, under present conditions, ways which must be followed and how the struggle must be conducted in order to advance to the victory of the revolution and the liberation of peoples. It is this reasoning that Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries find in the work of Enver Hoxha and in his theoretical thought - correct responses to many acute problems which they encounter every day in the living practice of their revolutionary activity.

The great value of the "Works" of Comrade Enver Hoxha regarding the question of revolution and the liberation of peoples lies, also, in the fact that it directly opposes the anti-Marxist and counterrevolutionary strategy, tactics, forms and methods of the modern revisionists with which they attempt to alienate the revolutionary movement from the correct path and repress it. At the same time, he shows that the strategy and tactics of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party are not and cannot be those of "leftist" sectarianism and adventurism, stimulated today in various forms by the bourgeoisie and imperialism in order to discredit and confuse the revolutionary movement and lead it into defeat. To the opportunist strategy and tactics of the right or the "leftist" sectarians, Comrade Enver Hoxha opposes true revolutionary strategy and tactics, strongly based on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, enriched and developed in accordance with present-day conditions, and proven in the fire of practice.

One of the gravest consequences of the spread of modern revisionism is the split which it has caused by its treachery in the ranks of communism and in the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. As a resolute internationalist revolutionary, Enver Hoxha devoted great attention and made a distinguished contribution to the construction and strengthening of the unity of Marxist-Leninist on sound foundations.

Opposing and combatting the pressures of the Chinese leaders for a common front and unity with the Soviet and other revisionists, Comrade Enver Hoxha showed that the unity for which we struggle is not unity with the revisionists. There will never be unity with them. The unity and cooperation of true Marxist-Leninist parties, which, for them, "is as vital as light and as the air we breathe every hour and moment" arises and develops in irreconcilable struggle against imperialism and social imperialism, the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism of every shade - Khrushchevite, Titoist, Eurocommunist, Chinese, etc. Marxism-Leninism, he stressed, is the basis of the unity of all revolutionary parties of the proletariat; it is their brain and not the conductor's baton, as N. Khrushchev thought and acted, and as the Chinese revisionist leaders tried to make it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a valuable contribution to the question of how relations among sister Marxist-Leninist parties must be conducted. To attempts by the leader of the Communist Party of China, which, for its own pragmatist and chauvinist purposes, tried, as did the Khrushchevites, to introduce the practices of a "mother party" and "daughter parties," etc., the AWP and Comrade Enver Hoxha opposed the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint that revolutionary parties of the proletariat in every country are parties which are independent of each other and equal; they are guided by Marxism-Leninism and they are responsible for their own views before their own working class and people, as well as before

the international proletariat. This independence and equality of Marxist-Leninist parties under contemporary conditions results from the fact that only the native party, being supported by the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and applying them in a creative manner under the conditions of its own country, which it knows better than anyone else, is in a position to guide with full competence and to lead the revolutionary movement in the country to victory. Unity and cooperation among Marxist-Leninist parties and forces is possible only in the event that the internationalist principles and norms of relations among them - relations of equality and independence - are applied rigorously, without permitting any dictates and impositions from outside, regardless of their origin, and in the event that these relations are built on the basis of consultation, negotiation and social exchange of views and experience, bilateral and multilateral cooperation, solidarity, assistance and internationalist fraternal support in the struggle for the common cause, against common enemies.

The theoretical and practical work of Comrade Enver Hoxha is that of a great internationalist revolutionary thinker and leader whose whole life was a total and unreserved commitment in the service of the cause of the proletariat and of Marxism-Leninism.

12249

CSO: 2100/47

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

FOREIGN MINISTER CHNOUPEK CONCLUDES FRG VISIT

AU261337 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 85 p 1

["(vh)"-signed dispatch from Wolfsburg: "Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Concludes FRG Visit; B. Chnoupek's Final Talks With H.-D. Genscher"]

[Text] This Friday [23 August] CSSR Foreign Minister B. Chnoupek, who was on a working visit to the FRG, continued his negotiations with H.-D. Genscher, federal minister of foreign affairs, in Celle. During the final talk the two ministers exchanged views on topical international issues.

Although they diverged in their evaluations of the causes of the current deteriorated international situation, they nevertheless concurrently pointed out the inevitability of adopting specific and mutually acceptable measures for averting the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and for consolidating peace, security, and cooperation on the European Continent. They called the fact that the process initiated by the Helsinki conference in 1975 is proving viable a positive factor of current international life. In this context B. Chnoupek stressed the need for rapidly adopting further constructive steps for making the positive spirit of the Final Act prevail and for comprehensively utilizing it in its entire scope. At the same time stress was laid on the bilateral interest in achieving appropriate agreements in the sphere of military detente.

The two ministers called the approaching Soviet-American dialogue on the highest level the dominant political factor of this year, which the peoples of the whole world expect to yield positive impulses for a peaceful solution of the key problems of world development. This applies, above all, to the sphere of limiting nuclear arms and banning space arms.

In this context Comrade Chnoupek expressed high appreciation for the far-reaching and long-term initiatives of the Soviet Union, which show the path to be taken in the sphere of disarmament, primarily via a moratorium on all nuclear explosions. He called these initiatives specific examples of a reliable path toward totally banning nuclear tests, halting the modernization of nuclear arms, and finally liquidating them. He termed "disquieting" the reply given by the American side, and particularly its "counterproposal" on invitations to observers, which is not aimed at banning the tests, but merely at registering them, thus making it possible to develop weapons of mass

destruction and space arms. The minister also issued a reminder of the concern evoked in Czechoslovakia and in other socialist countries by the plans to produce and deploy new dangerous chemical weapons, and particularly binary ammunition. H.-D. Genscher then expounded the FRG Government's standpoints, which proceed from well-known U.S. positions, particularly on the issue of nuclear test inspection.

After concluding the talks B. Chnoupek, accompanied by H.-D. Genscher, visited the largest West German Volkswagen automobile factory in nearby Wolfsburg; there he acquainted himself, among other things, with the local contribution to developing automobiles with reduced injurants in their exhaust gases.

On Friday [23 August] afternoon B. Chnoupek concluded his working visit to the FRG and returned home.

CSO: 2400/566

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

DAILY ON MI-5 'CONTROL' OF BBC

AU220928 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Aug 85 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar article in the "Word On Events" column: "'Personal Service' MI-5"]

[Text] The British journalistic front is unusually "animated" these days. Some journalists, particularly those in the BBC radio and television service, have learned at their own expense that the law on freedom of speech in Britain exists only on paper, that in practice there is actually tough control and censorship against which there is no appeal, even though truth is on the side of the person affected.

The BBC has always been an institution directed and controlled by the British ruling circles. It also loyally serves the reactionary interests of the upper class. Many examples from history attest to this. However, let us recall only some from the present: Daily it spouts thousands of words and film material at the British consumer to convince him that the policy of strength and intimidation on the basis of nuclear potential is correct, it also wages propaganda instigating anticommunism abroad, it is giving the socialist countries lessons in democracy and human rights. However, it does not apply its "principled nature" for example against the Republic of South Africa, where the white minority terrorizes--bloodshed included--the overwhelming majority of the native black population. This minority has the full sympathy--or, if you wish--the connivance of the BBC, since this is what the class interests of British big capital and its investments in the Republic of South Africa call for.

From time to time, journalists are found in the BBC who, in the interest of truth, also dare to produce more objective material. Woe betide such journalists! Evidence of this was the television documentary on northern Ireland, in which the authors also gave the floor to representatives of the Irish Republican Army. The film did not pass censors and was withdrawn from the broadcasting schedule. Not even a protest strike against this government step helped.

Considerable disenchantment with Britain was evoked by an article published in THE OBSERVER, according to which the BBC admitted that the British Secret Service intervenes in the selection of employees for the BBC, systematically

vets them--and this from 1937 already. Even an official report has changed nothing on the matter, which strove to assuage the impact of that exposure by saying that this concerns only a limited number of employees with access to security or key material. The fact remains that in the BBC's cadre policy the MI-5 secret service has the decisive word. In the BBC building there is a special office of the BBC management which, in cadre matters, turns directly to the secret service. All journalists, film directors, screen writers, and employees involved in topical radio and television news broadcasts are particularly thoroughly screened. Another thing that is no secret is the fact that on computer MI-5 has some 500,000 names of persons throughout Britain who are depicted as suspect--above all, because of leftist views or active political commitment.

Only naive journalists and their older well-paid colleagues and chiefs assert that British journalists are free, independent, and can write the truth. But as soon as some of them dared to, they immediately got into serious trouble. Several BBC journalists were dismissed or their promotions stopped at MI-5's intervention. It was immediately ascertained that the secret service also extended its competences to the "personnel service" in the BBC, which has at its disposal the mightiest instrument of mass information and propaganda--radio and television. And MI-5 now keeps these instruments under a strict control. This fact has, above all, a psychological, intimidating effect. In Britain everyone today knows that the MI-5 secret service has elaborated a "blacklist" of journalists, on which everyone is put who even as much as implies tendency to more liberal ideas, not talking about progressive journalists, whom the bourgeois press or radio and television would not employ at all.

The events of the past days have refuted many idealists' notions about the British press, radio, and television, idealists who thought that from these sources they were getting only truthful and objective information. In reality this has never been the case. The British mass information media, with the exception of some progressive magazines, have always served the interests of the British bourgeoisie, whether in the past century, when Britain was building--employing force and violence--its empire, or at present, when it safeguards its position and capitalist order at the expense of a 3.5 million strong army of unemployed and further millions of exploited working people.

CSO: 2400/566

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PRAGUE TV ON IDEOLOGICAL SUBVERSION

LD270019 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1500 GMT 26 Aug 85

[Weekly "Compass" program, subtitled "In the Service of Someone Else," presented by unidentified moderator, with Dr Milan Matous, corresponding member of the CSSR Academy of Sciences; Miroslav Broz, journalist, and Dr Jiri Cebrovsky, Prague radio foreign political commentator--no video available]

[Excerpts] [Moderator] The ideological war continues, but now instead of aiming at the heart, it aims at the head. [Unidentified speaker] Victory and a life in peace--these are the feelings with which troops go into the attack across a river, with which they do their difficult and bloody work, but beyond that river there is another river, another war. Over the river which he has already crossed there is no rainbow-colored, peaceful sky, because the fight for the mind of mankind continues today just as it did during WWII, just as it will in 5, in 10, in 20, in 40 years, just as it does right at this moment. [Moderator] Consequently we have invited here to the studio some experts who have studied and know about the different phases and forms of battle of our enemies, particularly the battle for the minds of our young people. They are experts in the great war of ideological subversion which has been waged against us since the end of World War II.

[Dr Milan Matous] The ideological struggle, in fact, began much earlier, practically with the emergence of the ideas of communism. Immediately after the Communist Manifesto was published, the enemies of social progress began their campaign against communism, and they stepped up this campaign after the Great October Revolution into even more hateful anti-Bolshevism and anti-Sovietism. Examples of how our enemies rate the importance of influencing the mind are innumerable, but one very typical one in this respect is the statement by the American military and political theoretician T.W. (Worthe) of 1964: The overwhelming strategic truth of our time is that the most profitable and perhaps the only comprehensive target for our new weapon of the nuclear age is the human mind.

[Moderator] Let me introduce our guests in the studio today, who are: Dr Milan Matous, corresponding member of the CSSR Academy of Sciences; Miroslav Broz, journalist; and Dr Jiri Cebrovsky, foreign political commentator of Prague Radio.

What interests us most about this great ideological struggle is the last 40 years, and today in particular; so now it's over to you, Comrades.

[Unidentified speaker] Ideological subversion against the socialist countries is one form of imperialist subversion. Its purpose is, above all, to taint the socialist consciousness of our citizens, but in the long run this tainting of the consciousness, the inculcation of mistrust of the party, its policies and its representatives is designed to undermine the implementation of socialism, to stifle the activity of the people. Various tools exist to serve this purpose; propaganda, the dissemination of all kinds of frightening rumors, economic sabotage, which is meant to induce nervousness in some socialist states. Lately it has become typical for this diversion to be carried out in the form of campaigns, anticommunist campaigns. Such campaigns are always intended to focus the attention of the whole bourgeois ideological and nonideological system on a specific issue at a specific time. This is clear interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, it is a clear violation of the fundamental principles of international law. It is also typical that the orchestration of this ideological subversion is not the work of several ideological agencies, but of the special services, and in fact in the last few decades special institutions have been set up to carry out this ideological subversion.

The normal bourgeois propagation system also serves this purpose, but the main role is played by institutions are directly in the hands of, and directly controlled by bourgeois special services. In the recent period in particular, this ideological subversion system has included groups of so-called dissidents. Dissident is a Latin word which originally means dissenter, or schismatic, or apostate, and imperialist propaganda today uses the word to mean traitors and drop-outs from socialism who are willing to serve anticommunist propaganda. Here it is interesting that in Western literature, which writes about traitors in the Second World War, about people who joined the fascist armies to help torture and murder their own fellow citizens--people like this are described in Western literature today by the term dissident.

I don't think this is a coincidence. Dissidents then and dissidents today, while they operate in different ways, nevertheless have similar objectives, in short, to undermine socialism as much as possible at any given time.

[Miroslav Broz] A good explanation of the term ideological subversion can be found, for example, in the speech by Yuriy Andropov at the session of the USSR State Security Committee in February 1979. In Comrade Andropov's words, ideological subversion is carried out in spheres which include political, philosophical, legal, moral, aesthetic, religious and other opinions and views; that means in the sphere of ideology, wherever the struggle between ideas goes on. This is not, however, the straightforward ideological struggle which stems objectively from the existence of the two antagonistic systems. It is, instead, a form of imperialist subversion against socialism. This subversion is designed to act on the views and thinking of the people, on their world view, and, through their consciousness, on their political and moral actions. It attempts to denigrate real socialism in the world arena, to

weaken its revolution-inspiring influence, and thus to stifle the intensity of the class struggles in the capitalist countries, to sow discord between communists, among the working class, and among all the working people, and sap their determination to fight against the exploiters.

[Dr Milan Matous] During the last 40 postwar years ideological subversion has undergone various changes. It has different forms in the different Western countries, but the main controlling center to an ever increasing extent is the United States, and it is primarily from the U.S. viewpoint in the postwar years that the attempt has come to adapt the strategy, the tactics of ideological subversion in any given situation. What they are trying to adapt this strategy to is not even the objective situation, but instead to the U.S. view of the situation, how the United States has perceived it. In the first postwar years the predominant strategy was to put an end to socialism abruptly and quickly by means of terror, by military means, by sabotage; and ideological subversion played a kind of subsidiary role in this respect.

Over the course of time, as socialism became consolidated in other countries beyond the borders of the Soviet Union, it became increasingly evident that this method could not achieve the result that the West wanted. Therefore during the mid-fifties approximately, especially following the failure of the counterrevolutionary bid in Hungary, the United States and some of its allies resorted to a more subtle tactic which they themselves sometimes described as the erosion of socialism, an attempt to achieve its disintegration from within. In this context ideological subversion had a much greater part to play. They tried to combine the pressure from the West with the activation of all antisocialist elements in the various socialist states. They also turned their attention to various dissenters within the various communist parties. A classic example of the attempt to apply this tactic is the one carried out in 1968 here in Czechoslovakia.

However, the case of Czechoslovakia convinced them that this tactic could not achieve their desired result either, and so during the 1970's and 1980's a new tactic has gradually taken shape, which is a kind of combination both of the violent and also of the more subtle methods. This is described by them as the strategy of destabilization of socialism, and this strategy, particularly during the 1980's, has crystallized into the crusade against communism as bombastically proclaimed by Reagan. This crusade aims to include every means in the services of anticommunism: economic, political and, if necessary, military means, and also ideological means. Ideological subversion and escalating militarization, militarism--these are two sides of the same coin. [Miroslav Broz] More about this problem can be found, for example, in Prof Milan Matous' book "The War Without a Truce" [fronta bez primeri] or in the work by the Soviet author N.M. (Geyzerov) "Ideological Subversion."

[Moderator] All this, all these subversive projects and doctrines were and are directed at a single goal: to breaking up and destroying the so-called empire of evil, as it has been called with such a gut hatred so typical of him by Ronald Reagan, referring of course to the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community.

[Jiri Cebrovsky] Yes and the imperialist countries, headed by the United States, devote enormous financial, human and technical resources to this end. They set up powerful ideologically subversive radio stations such as RIAS Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty, Radio Marti: They transmit into space from orbiting satellites which are designed to send a very strong television signal onto our territory; they also use normal radio and television stations which can be picked up in our country. They issue and send to Czechoslovakia by various means all kinds of discs, printed matter, literature, videocassettes, ordinary cassettes, tapes, and films which are meant to subvert and lead astray our young people in particular.

[Miroslav Broz] At the same time they take into account the specific traits and characteristics of today's young generation, their sense of purpose, dynamism and their power of criticism which, in some individuals, goes as far as negativism. They speculate with the inclination of young people to accept, without verifying them, all kinds of attractively presented and distorted facts taken out of context, all kinds of slanders, they try to exploit the lack of experience, the political immaturity and sometimes also the naivety of some young people in assessing social phenomena. This was clearly shown in Czechoslovakia in the years 1968-69. I wonder if you remember the scene in the 25th episode of the serial "Thirty Cases of Major Zeman" [recent Prague television series].

[Moderator] The undermining of young minds, in that scene, was also shown in the conflict between Major Zeman and his daughter, but the attempt to distract our young generation from overcoming the social crisis of that time in Czechoslovakia has still not ended.

[Jiri Cebrovsky] No, even if it has new and more underhand, more refined forms and shapes today. Ideologically subversive radio and television stations naturally exploit young people's interest in modern music, sport, fashion, technical novelties, travel, and leisure activities to influence their political attitudes and views. For example, music programs featuring the latest pop music hits also include antisocialist protest songs. High-lights of pop concerts are followed up with gossips and what we might call juicy snippets about the life of the various rock singers, stars and groups. During sports programs they put out sensational behind-the-scenes insights into sports events in the West with intimate details about the private life and conquests of sports stars. They promote Western fashions, the advantages of Western consumer society, religious freedom, travel opportunities and the quasi-unrestricted democracy in which anyone may say what he wants, even when those views are cranky to the extreme. Also, of course, they promote eccentric and provocative modes of dress and make-up.

[Dr Milan Matous] Ideological subversion extends to everything, all the most fundamental aspects of human life, but at the same time it has its predominant elements. At first sight it always tries to put itself across as a reaction to something topical, as something new, but in fact bourgeois propaganda only repeats the same old stereotypes. Among the basic stereotypes here are the bid to denigrate socialism at all costs, and also to idealize capitalism.

This idealization of capitalism is frequently an even more refined and more dangerous aspect of ideological subversion. It attempts to portray life in Western countries as idyllic in terms of living standards, and the attractiveness of the cultural life, it portrays it as paradise for young people, and various methods have been evolved for this purpose.

In recent years these methods have resorted increasingly to falsifying history; they try, for example, to portray to young people the conditions in Czechoslovakia in the prewar republic in the rosier of colours, and recently we have witnessed, and continue to see, the systematic distortion of the truth about World War II, with the intention of idealizing capitalism, idealizing the role of the Western powers in World War II, and even of whitewashing fascism and Hitlerism, and, on the other hand, of belittling and playing down the role of the Soviet Union.

This propaganda is designed to bring out nationalism, national chauvinism in people, and also to inculcate aversion to internationalism, to undermine the feeling of belonging together, of solidarity with the world's progressive forces, with the international communist and workers' movement, and especially to weaken our people's friendly attitude toward the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states.

However, it would not be the whole truth if we saw the goals of this propaganda only on the spiritual level, because the main aim of all their propaganda is to influence the practical actions of the people, to slander socialism, to give explanations about the moral justification of everything that runs counter to socialism. Recently, for example, emigre literature has been carrying direct instructions on how to harm socialism, on how to produce and distribute antisocialist pamphlets, and even how to feign various illnesses in order to avoid work. Reading and following all this, we cannot fail to recall similar manuals issued by the American special services for subversives in Nicaragua, containing instructions on how to kill and torture, how to destroy the assets of society. So far such instructions have not been spread against Czechoslovakia, but the difference lies only in the particular opportunities which they see there for their activities, and the different ones which they see here. The basic intention of hindering progress, of giving direct instructions on how to hinder progress--that basic intention is essentially the same both there and here.

[Jiri Cebrovsky] Here we have the results of ideologically subversive pressures on specific individuals. In this case it was the hijack of one of our aircraft, the murder of a Slov-air pilot, Captain (Nicitsi). The criminal did not evade his punishment, even though the West German authorities refused to extradite him to us. Disillusioned by the so-called free world which he used force to flee to, he ended up by committing suicide in Frankfurt.

[Miroslav Broz] The export of counterrevolution and subversion, of which terrorism is the extreme form, is also the main feature of the so-called democratization plan adopted by the U.S. Government late in 1982 and early in 1983. This plan makes provision both for the role of disorientated young

people a tool of counterrevolution, and also for the ideologically subversive role of our post-August [1968] emigres and also our so-called internal exiles, and let me say a few words here about terrorism which has been elevated in the United States to the level of state policy. According to a report recently in the West German magazine STERN, there are as many as 200 centers operating in the United States for training subversives from various countries of the world. One of the graduates of one of these American centers was the Sikh terrorist who was responsible for the tragedy of the Indian Boeing off the Irish coast, which killed more than 300 people.

[Moderator] The aspirations and plans of these internal exiles which have been referred to, the so-called dissidents and signatories of various statements and charters, have been described by Jiri Prochazka in his book "Sly Foxes Change Their Coat."

[Jiri Cebrovsky] These so-called internal exiles, these various dissidents and chartists really are trying to make sure that they stay in the limelight today. Often they commit very serious violations of the law on the protection of the republic when, in the pay of foreign intelligence agencies and in cooperation with emigres abroad, they attempt to slander and subvert our country. We still can recall the case of one of our theater producers who conveyed to foreign intelligence agents the pamphlets and scribblings of the enemies of our country and received remuneration in dollars from these agents for the writers. We also recall the case of the so-called French vehicle which was detained some time ago on our border. Two unemployed French students--a man and a woman--in return for money from a foreign intelligence agency, had been carrying messages, duplicating machinery and materials, subversive literature and inflammatory printed matter which were to have been used and distributed by these dissidents.

[Moderator] And what about external emigres, foreign emigres? How do they take part in ideological subversion against us?

[Dr Milan Matous] First it has to be said that people who have left Czechoslovakia for foreign countries and remained there cannot all be tarred with the same brush, so to speak. They differ greatly according to the reasons which forced them to emigrate. There are the so-called impoverished emigres, the people who left during the first, pre-war republic or even earlier because they could not find any means of subsistence here; there are the people who fled from fascism; and then there were the class enemies--several generations or several waves of generations which left. Immediately after the end of the Second World War there were the collaborators, the fascists, then in 1948 there were the members of the class whose heyday had come to an end in Czechoslovakia, and finally in 1968 there were various counterrevolutionaries and also people who were led astray, people who believed that they would find prosperity in the West, or who were frightened by the anticommunist propaganda of what was expected to happen in Czechoslovakia in the aftermath. Emigres abroad have rather different problems than merely political ones. The vast majority are faced with problems of providing for their day-to-day living requirements, but there are a couple

of hundred of people who make their living from anticommunism, and they also belong to various political and ideological factions in the West--from anarchists and various right-wing socialists including all kinds of different bourgeois political factions, right through to extremist reactionaries and neofascists--but as a rule this depends not on the political views they took abroad with them from Czechoslovakia, but on who in the West is paying for their services. But they serve the purposes of anticommunist propaganda not only by their political leanings: Anticommunist organizations are persuading them more and more that direct attacks against socialism are not having a great effect, and therefore they seek more effective tools. They imagine that they might find such tools in literature and art, and because they do not have any real Czech and Slovak artists out there, they create such artists by means of various second-rate propaganda and publicity. These pseudo-artists are then compared with our real artistic giants. Let me give you a typical example to show you what I mean: In front of me I have TIME magazine dated 22 October 1984, which gets very indignant about the fact that our national artist Jaroslav Seifert was awarded the Nobel Prize. They describe him here in a very unflattering way. First they say it was "an obscure choice" on the part of the Stockholm commission; they say that he is a mediocre provincial talent. They quote a few lines of Seifert, translated into such clumsy English that it really does give the reader a very poor impression. Then they ask how is it possible that in Czechoslovakia such doggerel can be considered great art? What is even more shocking, however, is the fact that the writers of the article then cite various other very dubious characters of what might be called the literary underworld who, by their criteria, their American criteria, ought to have been awarded the Nobel Prize instead. To tell the truth I don't even want to tell you the other names which they suggest here, because I doubt if there is anyone among your television viewers today who could give an appreciation of their work or even anyone who could have any worthwhile knowledge of it.

[Unidentified speaker] Let me come back to Jiri Prochazka's book.

[Dr Milan Matous] Emigres in the West frequently change their political views; they change the views they held here in Czechoslovakia and they also change the views they had after defecting abroad. Let us cite a few examples: Jiri Pelikan used to be a supporter of democratic socialism; when he was in Italy he gave the impression of being a reform-minded Communist, and he was subsequently elected to the so-called European Parliament as a socialist MP, yet at the same time he puts out anticommunist writings which are quite clearly paid for by the American special services and financial sources. Recently he has been following the general trends of the Reaganite policy of criticizing the withdrawal of the Germans from our border regions, of reiterating the argument of the so-called "unresolved nature" of the "German question," and so forth. Let's take another typical example--that of Ludek Pachman, someone who did a huge political somersault, a one-time proponent of democratic socialism who, after arriving in West Germany, became one of the political cronies of the Christian Social Union and the extreme right wing of Franz-Josef Strauss, an active participant in exiles' organization [landsmansaftey] meetings and a member of various neo-fascist organizations. Or there is Zdenek Mlynar, who

was even one of the secretaries of Dubcek's Party Central Committee; today he makes his living in the West from anti-communist propaganda in the pay of Radio Free Europe and other institutions. Basically it can be said that these emigres have undergone a clear shift from the Left to the Right, from being proponents of the most far-reaching democratic ideals to the positions of today's neo-fascists, from being supporters of the most democratic forms of socialism and communism in the widest sense to rabid anticommunists today, from being the most dyed-in-the-wool patriots against whom no other patriot could even stand comparison to collaborators with today's fascists, with those who are clear opponents of our nations.

[Dr Milan Matous continues] At the same time, though, I would like to say that sometimes the course of their political acrobatics is even more devious. A few years ago I was on a lecture tour in Sweden, and there in Gothenburg the main instigators of the anti-Czechoslovak demonstrations were local anarchists, ultra Left-wingers and, to my surprise, their main framework consisted of Czechoslovak emigres, people who defected from Czechoslovakia in pursuit of their democratic freedom in the West, in order to join the most radical, not to say adventuristic, organizations. So the question of the way in which these people develop politically is very complex, but the rule once again applies that it depends not on their own decisions but on what the bourgeoisie in the West need them for. Those people there really are torn up from their roots in every aspect, and they become an instrument, a tool against progress.

[Moderator] And in their ideologically subversive actions, it is interesting that they concentrate and focus primarily on our young people.

[Jiri Cebrovsky] Yes, and as we have mentioned already, for this purpose they take part in a number of radio broadcasts and other means. In short, they try to persuade our young people that they have no freedom, that they are being manipulated by the state, beginning at school, in the Pioneers, in the Socialist Youth Union right through to the fact that they do not have the opportunity for free elections, to decide on their career or on their education. Then on the other hand they instill in them the idea of so-called self-fulfillment, when they state that young people must fight for the freedom to be educated as they wish, to carry out research, must fight for greater literary freedom, for individual and legal rights, for the freedom to travel abroad, for the right to information, for the right to free religious activity, and for the ideological liberation of young people. At the same time they immediately force upon these young people their own bourgeois ideology. In fact they try demagogically to say that in our state, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, thinking is punished. In short, while life in Czechoslovakia is portrayed as the struggle of the individual to survive, life in the West is portrayed as idyllic.

[Moderator] So the ideological war through the airwaves, on the pages of magazines and books, on video screens and tape players continues?

[Dr Milan Matous] Yes it continues, and it concerns everyone, every one of our citizens. It is in the interests of each one of us to be able to find our bearings in this war, not to allow ourselves to be led astray by enemy propaganda, to understand who it is who denigrates us, what his aims are, what methods and means he uses. This is particularly important for young people, who are in the process of shaping their views on the world, on life, on political issues, who are, in the full sense of the word, just embarking on life.

[Miroslav Broz] We simply have to do everything in our power to ensure that our young people understand the dirty and deceitful role played in their destiny by imperialist ideological subversion organizations, that they realize fully that their home, their future, their dignified life, their real freedom, liberty and democracy are only to be found here, in our beautiful country.

[Unidentified speaker] For today just as in the future, Viktor Dyk's poetic warning applies:

"Abandon me and I will not perish,  
Abandon me and you will perish."

[Program ends with a pop song extolling the virtues of Czechoslovakia.]

CSO: 2400/566

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ACADEMY SHOWS CONCERN FOR AGRICULTURE, ENVIRONMENT

Prague TVORBA in Czech 7 Aug 85 p 14

[Article by Academician Miroslav Vyskot, chairman of the Scientific Collegium for Theoretical Bases of Agriculture, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences: "Basic Agricultural Research To Be Devoted to the Environment"]

[Text] The problem of the relationship between agriculture, forestry, water management and the environment is one of the principal problems faced by human society; consequently, the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences included all key questions in this area into the state program of basic research. The Scientific Collegium for Theoretical Bases of Agriculture of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, as the scientific-methodological organ of the academy, devoted a great deal of detail in the preceding period to studying the influence of environmental contamination upon agriculture, forestry and water management and adopted a position with respect to this problem.

On the territory of Czechoslovakia contamination of the air represents an extraordinarily serious problem in view of the fact that large quantities of emissions are produced here and the level of emissions in neighboring countries is also high and are partially transported over long distance and exert an influence on our territory. Another significant factor is represented by the extremely unfavorable conditions for the dispersion of contamination, the close proximity of industrial concentrations to intensive agricultural production (the Labe River area, a broader area around Bratislava) and forestry complexes (the Krusne Hory Mountains, the Beskydy Mountains). That is why emissions cause losses in agricultural production and their effect becomes the principal problem in forestry. The results are manifested across the whole land and are even reflected in other branches of the national economy.

The basic prerequisite permitting agricultural production and forestry to limit losses caused by emissions is the provision of timely information regarding anticipated changes in the quality of the air and the composition of the fallout by region or possibly even locality. At least with respect to large sources of contamination this requires the monitoring of the quality of the fuels used and the content of substances which can exert an unfavorable influence upon vegetation or can affect the quality of plant products. It is, therefore, essential to complete the system of monitoring changes in the quality of the air and their influence. This requirement has been largely

completed in forestry but significant regions devoted to agricultural production still lack data on concentrations of the principal harmful substances in the atmosphere and their effect.

An important task is the preservation of plant species which are threatened by the progressive contamination of the atmosphere. It is particularly necessary to continue the efforts to save basic forest species in areas where they are threatened by emissions. These efforts include spruce and fir trees from the Sumava area and from the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands. One possibility of reducing losses is the replacement of sensitive varieties with those strains and varieties which are more resistant. To justify such changes, there exist empirical data or experimental results but the theoretical foundation for explaining the causes of changes in resistance vis-a-vis additional biotic and abiotic harmful manifestations which occur in regions under the influence of emissions (frost, fungi, leaf-eating pests) is missing. Overall it is necessary to substantially intensify research involving the influence of emissions at the ecosystem level, particularly with respect to fertility of the land and influence of soil changes upon stability and production, particularly in forest ecosystems.

An insufficient amount of data exist with respect to the broader results caused by disruptions of forest complexes through emissions, particularly with regard to water management and for an entire region. It is essential to continue the more intensive search for new opportunities to lower the effect of emissions upon plants and to integrate the knowledge acquired into complete systems of management which are differentiated according to ecological emission conditions and to set realistic goals. In view of the pressure of time, appropriate realizable results can only be obtained with thorough coordination between the various levels of research.

The scientific collegium is following the situation in Czechoslovakia's forests in detail since the forests reflect the status of our environment as the broadest of populations which also protects the environment to a substantial extent. For this reason it is necessary to mention this problem with an eye to the status and prognosis involving our forests.

Czechoslovak forests cover a total area of 4,581,833 hectares and forestation in our country amounts to 36 percent. The extraction of timber which amounted to about 9 million cubic meters after the war has recently risen to double that amount. Whereas in 1950 extraction per hectare amounted to 2.30 cubic meters, in 1980 it was already 4.14 cubic meters. Czechoslovakia has thus attained the first place among European nations in forestry and timber extraction. Our forestry industry belongs among the very advanced ones, even as far as the technical aspects are concerned.

These favorable indicators, particularly with respect to extraction technology and transport activities, are not, however, accompanied by equally intensive care for the forest, particularly with respect to cultivation. However, the most serious problem is the deterioration of the health of our forests as a result of industrial contaminations. Currently, this damage amounts to 26 percent and the prognosis by the end of the century is in the vicinity of 40

percent. Forests which are thus weakened easily become prey to abiotic and biotic damage, as the results of last year's storms and excessive multiplication of pests, particularly the spruce bark beetle. This damage represents more than 10 million cubic meters of distressed timber per year, which is more than one-half of the growth increment for an entire year.

As long as the sources of intoxication are not removed there is no choice but to lessen the damage by all available means. Consequently, care devoted to forest stands, particularly those involving the genetic fund of forest varieties, and to forest soil must be increased. An important and essential step is considered to be the neutralization of sulfur in the soil through the use of lime-containing fertilizer and the fertilization of reforested areas. Reforestation must be accomplished in localities which are significant with respect to soil and water management conditions. The primary task is to maintain and renew the forest everywhere, primarily through the aid of autochthonous deciduous varieties. In comparison with 1982 the volume of cultivation activity is to be increased by 40 percent and the area devoted to forest nurseries is to be increased by 358 hectares. In view of the fact that extraction will decline by 650,000 cubic meters per year and will drop an additional 200,000 cubic meters per year during the 9th Five-Year Plan, it is essential that all existing surplus sources from nurseries and reforested stands be rationally utilized, be it by mechanical or chemical methods. Better care for the forest requires an increase in the number of workers and financial means, particularly in the area of forest cultivation which should be made into an independent profession. In order for this to happen social care must be devoted to workers engaged in this activity.

The scientific-research base must assure solutions of problems in the following principal areas: studies of forest ecosystems and assurance of the development of their utility functions and basic conditions of development for the forest economy.

The first set of goals is intended to assure the permanent production of the forest biomass (dendromass). This means devoting attention to problems of genetics and of cultivating forest varieties, to the concept of cultivating forests on the principle of production ecology and to examine the microproduction functions of the forest. A special problem is the solution to reducing damage in emission regions and the development of systems of integrated forest protection in a comprehensive concept.

A second set of tasks must be devoted to production processes, particularly to methods and functions of large-scale technologies. In this connection it will also be necessary to examine the ergonomic parameters of machines and technologies introduced into the process. Economic research and the management of the forest economy will be tied in to this topic.

From the standpoint of basic research it will be necessary to solve the following problem areas: genetics and physiology of forest varieties, forest variety populations and their anthropic influences, the resistant potential of forest ecosystems and their protection against the undesirable effects of natural and anthropogenic factors, the biometrics of forest varieties and the

theoretical foundations for the economic management of forests, the theory of the multipurpose utilization of forests with an emphasis on the care for the environment, theoretical foundations for extraction and transport processes in the forest economy with emphasis on the biological essence of the production, the morphology of wood and the comprehensive utilization of nontraditional components of the dendromass, the physical chemistry characteristics of wood from the standpoint of the optimalization of the technologies used and the materials produced. The comprehensive scientific knowledge regarding the essence, function and production of ecosystems will, thus, yield a base for recognizing and evaluating the natural phenomena and social significance of Czechoslovakia's forests.

Currently, we have 13.3 billion hectares of land, including 1.4 billion hectares of arable land, 3.1 billion hectares of permanent pastures and 2.8 billion hectares of forestland. In Latin America and Africa there are still land reserves of 0.7 billion hectares which are, however, largely disadvantaged by degradation and erosion. Many forests in developing nations are devastated by exploitative extraction and nomadic utilization for agricultural purposes with little attention devoted to the beneficiation and renewal of forests. The greatest losses are precisely in tropical forests where the potential of solar radiation is the highest and which have a minimum of moisture. In this area only 12 percent of the arable land is irrigated and protected against drought; in the region of the sahel irrigated land only amounts to 2 percent.

The majority of developing nations will no longer be able to supply even one-half of their populations from their own sources by the year 2020, which will result in additional pressure for destructive exploitation of forests. From this it is clear that without large-scale international action the majority of humankind will be threatened by hunger and misery on the threshold of the new millennium.

The recent European Regional Conference on Cooperation With the European Economic Commission of the United Nations worked out a European program of technical cooperation with the Food and Agricultural Organization and with the European Economic Commission of the United Nations. The conference created a series of 424 scientific-research institutes in all European countries and in 20 developing nations which are cooperating in 10 selected key topics. Some 160 specialized institutions from 23 nations are cooperating in a program involving the utilization of alternative renewable sources of energy. One of 12 international experimental and demonstration facilities is to be established in Czechoslovakia. The program includes the utilization of plant genetic sources, protection of the forest riches and coordination of preventive veterinary measures against contagious animal diseases. All of this work is to be conducted with the use of high-efficiency computers of the international FAO system. The socialist countries are supporting this program which was attested to by the Agris seminar, organized by the Soviet Union in collaboration with the FAO in September of last year in Moscow.

In this system science forms the main moving force whose executive levers are supposed to be biotechnology and genetic engineering which should stimulate a new "green revolution" as a prerequisite for a quality solution in this area. The main thesis of this program is to replace armaments plans with the "green plan" which would give mankind sustenance and a healthy environment.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

**VOLUNTARY POLICE HELPERS**--Members of the National Security Corps are assisted in their demanding service by more than 80,000 members of the Auxiliary Public Security Guards in the CSSR. In their spare time they protect common property, look after the observance of order in railroad traffic, check on the safety of road traffic, and see to the protection of the environment. During the holiday season, they control and patrol recreational resorts, applying, for example, sanctions against undisciplined tourists who disregard the ban on camping in the free nature. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Aug 85 p 2 Au]

CSO: 2400/566

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

USE OF MICROELECTRONICS IN ARMORED VEHICLES EXAMINED

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 4 1985 (signed to press 9 May 85)  
pp 206-209

[Article by Dr Ing D. Ernst; Major Dipl-Ing G. Wagner]

[Text] Armored vehicle technology developed rapidly after the second world war and the technical changes led to considerably improved battle capabilities of armored vehicles. A major contribution to this was made by the employment of electrical components in tanks. The electrical equipment of the T 34 medium tank, for instance, was comparable to that of an automobile.

In the 1950s, but especially in the 1960s it was possible to employ discrete electronic circuits based on vacuum tubes and semiconductors in medium tanks. This especially permitted development of their electrical and specialized equipment. At first electronic components were used only in some technical equipment as for instance in infrared night vision and the tank weapon stabilizing equipment. Examples of this development stage are the T 54 and T 55 medium tanks.

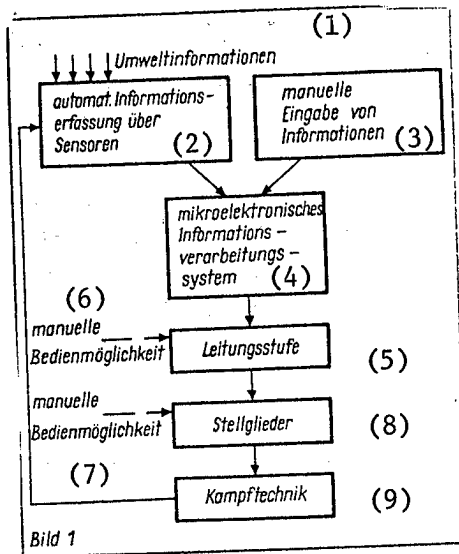
It became apparent, that through use of electronic equipment in control circuits, power supplies, monitoring equipment etc., armored vehicle technology could better meet the requirements of modern battle. As development progressed, application areas of electronic components in tanks were extended more and more and at the same time equipment technical parameters were improved. A cornerstone of this development was the application of microelectronic components in electrical and specialized equipments during the middle of the 1970s.

Because of the advantages of microelectronic equipment, on one hand volume, energy and material requirements, weight and costs are decreased, and on the other hand reliability and ease of operation are increased.

Foreign publications indicate that use of electronic and specialized equipment is intended, above all, to improve the battle capability of armored vehicles. In addition, it is becoming possible to install modern components in older armored vehicles and thus also increase their capabilities. NATO intends to improve battle capability of tanks of the 1960s and 1970s in this manner.

## 1. Possibilities for Use of Microelectronic Components

In units of electrical and specialized equipment of armored vehicle technology it is possible to collect, process, and store information with electronic components. Integrated circuits are used in information or signal processing applications (figure 1). Depending on the complexity of the task to be solved, and the amount of information processed, the microelectronic processing system could have one of the following basic structures: wired logic, stored program logic, or microprocessor. Parts which contain microelectronic components must be followed by a controller, which then operates the appropriate control elements.



Key:

1. Environment Data
2. Automatic Data Collection with Sensors
3. Manual Data Input
4. Microelectronic Processor
5. Control Stage
6. Manual Operation Capability
7. Manual Operation Capability
8. Control Elements
9. Weapon System

Figure 1 Block Diagram of Weapons System Controlled by Microelectronics

If failures of the microelectronic information processing system occur, it is possible to operate the weapons system manually through the controller or directly through the control elements (figure 1). Failure of the microelectronic system leads to reduction of the battle capability of the armored vehicle. The crew can however continue tactical operations with the armored vehicle.

Foreign publication indicate that integrated circuit components and equipment are primarily used for:

- Heat imaging technology,
- ABC defense equipment,
- Weapons stabilization,
- Laser range finders, and
- Fire control systems.

What development trends can here be discerned?

### 1.1 Heat Imaging Technology

Armored vehicle weapons systems have for some time been equipped with infrared night vision, and also passive low light amplifiers. Now use of heat imaging devices is beginning.

Heat imaging devices are passive equipment which, because of their high sensitivity and good resolution, are suitable for night operations, but can also be used during the day. Despite good camouflage a tank is, especially during daylight, clearly visible against the background with heat imaging devices. The efficient detectors, which, in new equipment according to foreign reports, consist of cadmium-mercury-tellurium, are sensitive in the spectral region from 8 to 12 micrometers. This permits such properties as large range and good penetration of the atmosphere containing light fog and smoke.

Heat imaging technology represents, according to opinions of leading NATO representatives, the optimum night vision system which meets technical and tactical requirements for tank operations. The Bundeswehr has therefore begun to install heat sensitive night vision equipment in the "Leopard 2" tank, the "Marder" armored personnel carrier, and the "Luchs" reconnaissance tank.

Development and construction of heat imaging equipment are very complex and costly [2]. Equipment consists of an optical part and the electronic processing part, which converts input signals into serial video signals which control a video screen. The signal processing part contains primarily electronic and microelectronic components. Use of heat imaging devices becomes thus possible only with utilization of the most modern technology in the field of electronic and microelectronic technology.

### 1.2 ABC-Defense Equipment

Task of ABC-Defense equipment is to warn the crew against mass destruction weapons and to initiate protective measures. The control elements of existing equipment are for this purpose equipped with discrete electronic components. The air in the immediate vicinity of the armored vehicle is analyzed. It is however not possible to increase the sensitivity of equipment with discrete electronic components or to detect toxic gasses at greater distances.

From the literature it is known that a microprocessor controlled device for long distance detection of toxic gases, with the designation XM 21, has been developed. It operates on the interferometer principle. Erroneous indications can be avoided by suitable subprograms. By the end of the 1980s the equipment is expected to be operational in the field and is expected to detect toxic gases up to a distance of from 3 to 5 km.

### 1.3 Stabilization of Weapons

Signal processing units for stabilization of tank weapons are constructed primarily with discrete electronic components. They help to collect and

compensate for the most important disturbing variables which affect weapons position. Stabilization accuracy as function of the stabilization plane is today less than 0-01.

Attempts are being made to increase the stabilization accuracy even more. Only this will permit hitting of targets at greater distances with equal hit probability and at higher vehicle speeds. Additional error variables, which decrease stabilization accuracy, must here be taken into account. It appears feasible to design electronic components which are based on both discrete and also integrated circuits. From such an automated weapons system for the SFL [4] [abbreviation unknown], analogies for armored vehicle technology can possibly be derived. According to NATO opinions, development of peripheral systems for armored vehicle weapons will proceed in this direction. Efforts to develop digital fire control systems and compatible stabilization equipment confirm this.

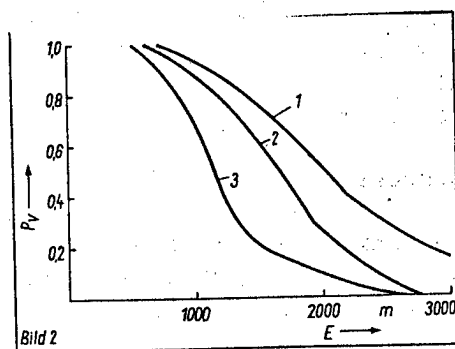
## 2. Selected Examples of Microelectronic Applications in Tanks

### 2.1 Laser Rangefinder

Stabilization of tank weapons made it possible to fire while in motion. Next, the hit probability had to be increased further. A decisive contributing factor is the precise determination of target distance. The conventional method to measure the distance with the distance scale of the telescope reticule cannot fulfill this requirement.

Other methods and procedures have therefore been developed. The laser rangefinder is today superior to the optical rangefinder, both technically and in ease of operation (figure 2). The laser rangefinder clearly increases the kill probability of both stationary and moving targets.

Its simple operation and the small measuring error, which is independent of the measuring distance, increase the operational value and make the laser rangefinder a permanent member of armored vehicle technology. In its further development a prime factor is the decrease of weather sensitivity (fog, haze).



1. Target Telescope with Laser Rangefinder
2. Target Telescope with Optical Rangefinder
3. Conventional Target Telescope

Figure 2 Kill Probability of Stationary Target as a Function of Method of Distance Measurement

The basic principles of laser rangefinding are covered in detail in [7].

How are the laser data processed? Distance determination is based on the time between transmission of the laser pulse I1 and the reception of the reflected pulse I2. The corresponding equation is:

$$E = (c \cdot n) / 2 f$$

where E = distance, c = velocity of light, f the known frequency, and n = the number of pulses.

Since velocity of light and frequency are constant, the result is:

$$E = \text{const} \cdot n$$

Distance measurement thus reduces to the determination of the number of pulses transmitted by a frequency generator between the start pulse I1 and the stop pulse I2.

Figure 3 shows the basic construction for time measurement. Microelectronic components can be used for the elements surrounded by the dotted line.

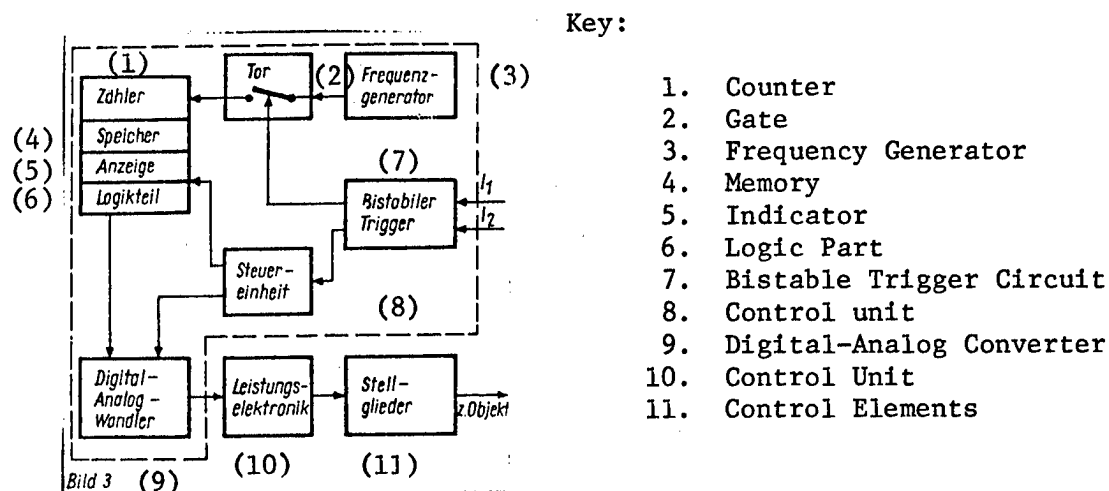


Figure 3 Electronic Pulse Counter for Distance Measurement

I1 Pulse at instant of transmission of laser beam. I2 Pulse at instant of reception of reflected laser beam.

At the instant of light transmission, pulse I1 actuates a bistable trigger circuit, which activates the control unit and also opens the gate. This permits the pulse sequence of known frequency transmitted by the frequency generator to actuate a counter. Pulse I2 at the instant of receipt of reflection again actuates the trigger circuit, signals the end of measurement and closes the gate. This completes the counting process. The counter now contains a number Z, which is proportional to the time difference

$$\Delta t = Z / f.$$

If a suitable pulse frequency  $f$  is chosen, the number  $Z$  equals the distance in meters. Since the electronic control unit requires analog signals, the digitally determined distance, which also is based on additional other factors, must be converted into an analog signal with an analog-digital converter.

The compact, space saving construction of the laser range finder, permits placement of some components directly in the sighting telescope. Its partial integrability and the digital signal processing capability are favorable preconditions for its utilization in electronic fire control systems.

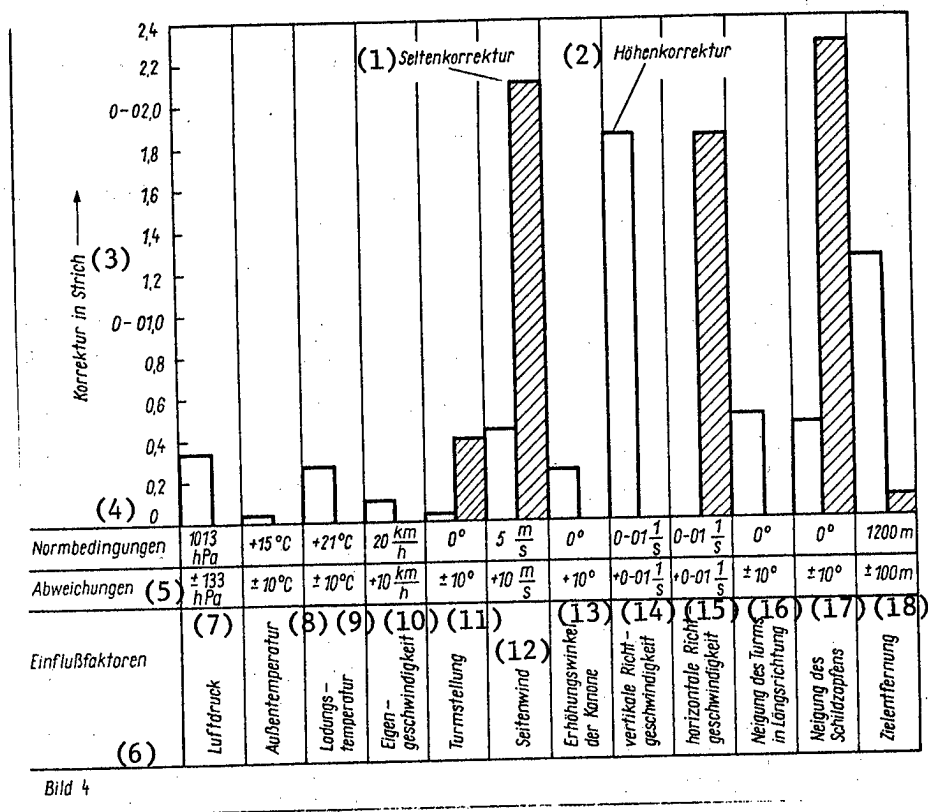


Bild 4

Figure 4 Dependence of Angular Correction on Various Factors

- Key:
1. Lateral Correction
  2. Elevation Correction
  3. Correction
  4. Standard Conditions
  5. Deviations
  6. Factors
  7. Air Pressure
  8. Outside Temperature
  9. Load Temperature
  10. Vehicle Speed
  11. Turret Position
  12. Side Wind
  13. Gun Elevation Angle
  14. Vertical Aiming Speed
  15. Horizontal Aiming Speed
  16. Turret Inclination Longitudinal
  17. Trunnion Inclination
  18. Target Distance

## 2.2 Fire Control Systems

External and internal ballistic factors, which affect the trajectory of the projectile, also affect the hit probability. Experiments confirm this. They require, depending on the actual situation, elevation and lateral corrections of the sighting angle. The bar chart according to Chukov (figure 4) shows the quantitatively required elevation and lateral corrections of the sighting angle to hit the target. One recognizes the factors which have the greatest effect in the context shown:

- Lateral wind velocity,
- Minimum directional velocities of weapon,
- Inclination of trunnion,
- Variation of target distance, e.g. by target movement.

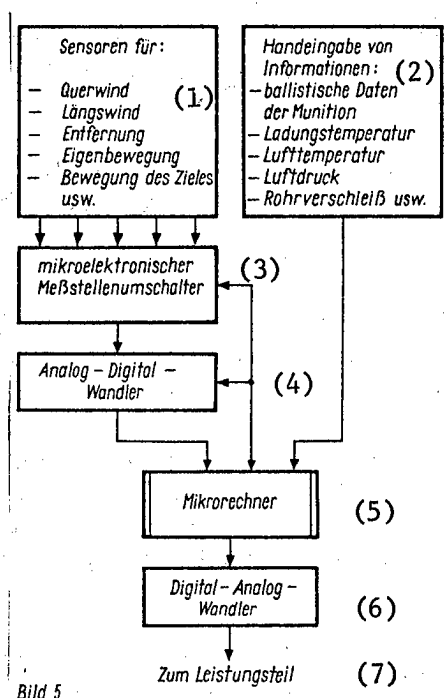
The upper row of the diagram gives the standard conditions which do not require any corrections. The lower row shows those deviations from the standard values, which make the stated corrections necessary. Not contained are corrections of the sighting angles, which are necessitated by changes in initial velocity caused by bore deterioration or by a moving target.

Thus not considering lateral angular correction with a moving target can reduce the hit probability by over 15 percent. These quantities are complex and a correction made by the gunner based on the conditions has large errors. Under real battle conditions it would be nearly impossible to consider all factors.

Fire control equipment was therefore developed which to a great extent considers such factors independent of the gunner. Firing effectiveness is increased and firing preparation time is decreased.

First, mechanical devices (e.g. curved sections) were employed for the correction of sighting angles which depended on a few factors. The next phase introduced analog computers in fire control equipment. Most recently efforts are underway to make angular corrections horizontally and vertically with microcomputers. An example is the M1 USA tank.

In order to utilize a microcomputer, sensors are required to collect correction data and appropriate analog-to-digital converters are needed. Provision of the sensors poses the biggest difficulty. For this reason there is a tendency to use only those data as inputs which are prone to the greatest errors. Figure 5 shows the information flow for a possible fire control system.



Key:

1. Sensors for:  
Crosswind  
Longitudinal Wind  
Distance  
Own Motion  
Target Motion etc.
2. Manual Data Input:  
Ballistic Data of Munition  
Load Temperature  
Air Temperature  
Air Pressure  
Bore Wear etc.
3. Microelectronic Sensor Switch
4. Analog-Digital Converter
5. Microprocessor
6. Digital-Analog Converter
7. To Controller

Figure 5: Microprocessor-controlled Fire Control System

Stationary quantities are entered into the microprocessor manually. They also can be entered digitally. It also is entirely possible, as foreign publications indicate, that digital and analog signals can both be processed in fire control systems.

It is also possible to incorporate a self-test program into such a fire control system, in addition to the programs for calculations for trajectory corrections. This has the advantage that internal errors can be detected and corrected.

### 3. Simulators

The complicated technical equipment in combat vehicles requires thorough training of crews. Training with actual equipment is in many cases difficult, both for organizational and economic reasons, and is in some cases impossible. Also economic expenditures for employment of modern combat vehicles and weapons systems are very great. Simulators provide a genuine alternative.

A simulator is a life-like replica of an operator position which is fitted with all operator controls and equipment and is used for operator training. [5].

The dynamic behavior of the system in response to the actions of the crew must be recognizable. This makes the simulator stand out beyond the simple

"training device." Applying this to armored vehicle technology, the simulator must permit training not only in system operation, but in its tactical use under battle conditions. It becomes both a training and practice device. These requirements can be realized completely and economically only with microprocessors.

Microprocessor controlled simulators have the following advantages:

- The training process can be very close to real battle conditions.
- There is no danger for the trainees.
- Training can be very intensive.
- Qualitative and quantitative control and self-control are possible.
- For certain uses training is independent of the training area.
- Training conditions can be changed through software changes.
- Operating costs are low.
- Fuel is saved.

Current views indicate that microprocessor controlled simulators can be utilized as movement-, target-, or firing simulators. A series of publications emphasizes the utility of such simulators in the training process. Comparing actual equipment use and use of training devices, improvements in training have been documented.

The trainee who uses microprocessor controlled simulators, because of the realistic environment, also exercises physical and psychological capabilities. This could, for instance, minimize the disadvantages of the "Telefahrssimulator" [remote driving simulator] mentioned in [6]. Conception, development, and construction of simulators represent an interdisciplinary task, since one deals with a complex matter.

#### 4. Problems of Deployment of Microelectronics Under Battle Conditions.

The limits for the use of microelectronic components in military technology can be estimated only on the basis of the laws of physics. The most prevalent material used in microelectronics at this time is silicon. Super pure silicon is doped with boron or phosphorus atoms, which permits integration of functional units on a single chip.

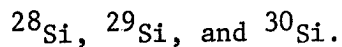
Electrical conductivity can be influenced in wide limits by judicious doping with foreign atoms. Concentration of freely mobile charge carriers in the semiconductor (electrons and defect electrons) determine the value of electrical conductivity.

If  $10^{11}$  silicon atoms are doped with one foreign atom, the concentration of freely mobile charge carriers is increased by a power of ten. This means that an uncontrolled entry of foreign atoms into microelectronic components could change their functioning.

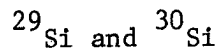
In an atomic attack there occur, among others, large neutron currents. Neutrons possess no electric charge and cannot be deflected with electric or magnetic fields. Shielding is very difficult because of their great penetrating power.

If microelectronic components are exposed to neutron radiation, the silicon becomes radioactive.

Silicon consists of the isotopes



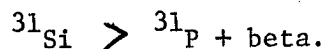
After radioactive activation, there exist the stable isotopes



and the radioactive isotope



This radioactive isotope disintegrates within a short time, according to the formula:



The newly created isotope  $^{31}\text{P}$  is a doping element (Phosphorus).

This disturbs the silicon doping in the microelectronic components. The intended functions are partially or completely obliterated.

A way out for the manufacture of microelectronic components is to use new base materials which can resist radioactive radiation. Another way out would be to use only such equipments with microelectronic components, whose failure would decrease battle capability, but would still guarantee some operational capability.

All shielding methods lead of necessity to constructive changes and increase the weight of the armored vehicle.

It should also be mentioned, that nuclear explosions in altitudes above 40 km cause a so-called nuclear electromagnetic impulse (NEMP) over a large surface of the earth. The created electromagnetic fields could assume values of 50 kV/m or 130 A/m. Through radiation and induction they cause very high peak voltages and currents in all kinds of electric conductors. Microelectronic components and sensors are extremely sensitive to current and voltage surges.

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7994

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HUNGARY

# CHANGE IN NEW ENTERPRISE LEADERSHIP FORMS DESCRIBED, CRITICIZED

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 33, 18 Aug 85 p 24

[Article by Jenő Farago: "Who Will Be the Director? New Enterprise Leadership Forms. Those Who Have Been Confirmed and Those Who Have Been Dismissed."]

[Text] On the basis of guidelines published at the end of last year by the presidency of the National Council of Trade Unions and the Council of Ministers, the switch in enterprise leadership forms has been under way since January of 1985 and will come to a close at the end of 1986. The basic goal of the new enterprise leadership forms is for the workers to be able to exercise the proprietary rights bestowed upon them by the state not through one-time or occasional democratic acts but through continuous input and supervision without, however, absolving the director from personal responsibility. The goal is for the new leadership forms to become a vehicle of more efficient management.

## Four Forms

The switch in enterprise leadership forms affects 230 agricultural units and 306 industrial enterprises. According to the regulations, enterprises of exceptional importance to the national economy continue to come under state administrative control, i.e., they will be directed by the ministry. In the case of industrial enterprises, their number is 46. The form in which an enterprise council would provide the leadership was originally proposed for 197 enterprises. (Members of the enterprise council are the director, the representatives of the enterprise executives, and the elected delegates of the workers. The number of the latter cannot be lower than half the effective strength of the enterprise council.) In the case of the remaining enterprises, it is expedient to entrust the leadership to a general assembly or a delegate assembly. (Every worker who is on the enterprise payroll is a member of the general assembly, so there is no need for an election here, while the members of a delegate assembly are chosen on the basis of the same principles as those of an enterprise council, with the difference that the head of an organizational unit can also be recommended for membership in a delegate assembly.)

The trade unions established a steering committee to create the new leadership forms. Its leader is the trade-union committee's secretary or his representative; its members are chosen by a confidential trade-union body or, in the absence of this, by a major trade-union membership meeting on the basis of a recommendation

from the director, the enterprise party organization, the trade union and the Communist Youth League. The steering committees provide the workers with regular reports on the preparations, and at the same time they listen to and summarize the workers' views and goals and forward them to the founding agency. The reports must be thorough and comprehensive enough for the workers to be able to fully express their opinions on the selected form, the organizational modernization. Up until creation of the new enterprise leadership form and after selection of the form, an outline of the new organizational and operational rules must be made, and the new managing bodies--including the director--must be arranged and then established through elections. Developing the outline of the just mentioned new organizational and operational rules is the task of the editorial committee whose three members--the director and two specialists--are commissioned or appointed by the founding agency.

By the end of the first half of the year, the new managing bodies had been chosen at 198 of the 230 agricultural organizations affected by the new leadership forms. In 24 cases, a competition was routinely conducted for the post of director, but the collectives at five state farms did not confirm--by secret ballot--the director in the post he had held up until then. By mid-July there had been a change in directors at 35 industrial enterprises, and the number of directors not confirmed in their posts was four. A two-thirds majority by secret ballot is necessary to confirm or elect a director, and this is also the case for members of an enterprise council. If the director up until now is not confirmed in his post, a competition must be conducted to fill the position, and the appointed director leads the enterprise until the election of the new director.

#### A Slight Influence

It would be premature to draw conclusions which can be regarded as definitive from the elections so far. It is useful, however, to call attention to a few experiences.

It has happened that the preparations for the switchover were handled in a perfunctory manner, and the viewpoint of the body of workers was not taken seriously. The steering committees' work has been strongly influenced from time to time by the regional organizations and by the enterprise leaders themselves. It has also been observed during preparation that some enterprises preferred to select the state administrative control form or asked to be placed under such control. What lurks behind this is that the leaders of these enterprises feel more secure coming under the ministry and expect from it a more advantageous and favored situation. Yet it should be proven with the new leadership form that through collective leadership and the workers' active input and cooperation they are able to turn resources to good account, to do better organized and more efficient work, in short, to exploit the advantages which can be expected from the new leadership form.

It has also been observed in some places that where it would have been justified to establish a general-assembly or delegate-assembly form, leadership by enterprise council was more readily chosen on the unexpressed but reasonable grounds that the more restricted enterprise council--roughly half of whose members are

enterprise managers--is easier to influence and oversee. Such an effort means an abridgment of the democratic spirit.

It likewise indicates a misunderstanding of the new leadership forms' democratic nature that in the case of one or two nonconfirmed directors the delegates have been accused of insincerity, since the secret ballot produced a result different from what had been forecast. The decisive thing in every case is that the delegates really represent the viewpoint of the majority of workers and vote accordingly. It is not easy, of course, to verify that they actually do so, and it happens (as it did at the Kner Printing House in Bekescsaba) that the workers objected to the director's nonconfirmation and, taking the initiative by collecting the signatures of about 70 percent of the workers, declared themselves in favor of the old director. All this demonstrates that we must still learn how to exercise democratic rights and we must allow for phenomena which stem precisely from lack of training in democratic matters.

It happens that special-interest groups and cliques become organized during the preparations and attempt to assert their will and influence the decision of the worker collectives, since the stakes are high: it is possible to dismiss the director. Nothing could be simpler than to campaign with promises on behalf of a director's confirmation or election, regardless of the cost. Every measure whose ulterior motive is to win over the workers with various concessions thwarts not only the interests of the national economy but group interests as well, i.e., it harms the enterprise itself under discussion, because it weakens the foundations for development. In such cases, the narrow, selfish interests of cliques clash with the interests of groups, and persuasive steps must be taken against this and also against a director's being "kicked out" because he is strong-minded and raises the standards.

#### And the Party Organizations?

The party organizations' role in the new enterprise leadership system is still fairly sketchy and unsettled. The party organization's representative participates as a guest at the enterprise council sessions but does not have the right to vote. Nevertheless, the important task of the local party organizations is to guarantee--in the new leadership form--the predominance of the party's economic policy and the implementation of party decisions pertaining to the economy.

It is evident that the party's economic principles come to fruition in the corresponding governmental measures. But the decision is made at the individual enterprises how these measures are asserted and fulfilled during implementation in the regional plans. It will thus be pretty much the way it has been up until now, since the fundamental decisions will be made at the enterprises and what is more, in the enterprise council, in the delegate or general assembly--at any rate, in collective bodies much broader than up until now. If the basic principle in the economic work of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has so far been that not the command but political, professional persuasion and influence must dominate, this will hold true to an even greater degree.

From the standpoint not merely of party work but also of the enterprises' management and fate, it is very important that skillful and open-minded persons who know party policy well end up on the enterprise councils, or that they obtain the information and expertise necessary for responsible decisions and for participation in management. Here an important role awaits not only the trade unions but the local party organizations as well. The elected members of the enterprise council cannot turn into yes-men or into a group which uncritically pours the collective's opinion into a mold. They must therefore not only listen to the workers' viewpoints but also sift through them, bring pressure to bear, and persuade the collective their decisions are correct so that they bring a reasonable, proper and true majority opinion before the enterprise council.

Today the attention of a significant part of the enterprises is still riveted on the preparations for establishment of new leadership forms or the realization of the first independent steps. But since the current year has placed considerable economic difficulties before an appreciable part of the enterprises and the entire national economy and since the startup of the seventh 5-year plan approaches, redoubled efforts are necessary so that the enterprises acquit themselves well in the new leadership forms and now reveal the reserves which prove that the new leadership form means a change not just in organization but also in content and--through the workers' democratic initiation into management--genuinely lends itself to helping the enterprise solve the vital problems of modernization and intensive development in a better prepared way and on a qualitatively higher level.

12327

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HUNGARY

## POPULATION'S INCOME BURDENED BY TAXES, LOAN REPAYMENTS

Budapest. MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 33, 18 Aug 85 p 25

[Article by Istvan Garamvolgyi: "The People's Purse. More Money, More Credit. Traditions in Financial Matters."]

[Text] The fundamental item in the people's income is, of course, work earnings: wages, salary, premiums, bonuses, profit sharing, the sales revenue of small-scale producers. The sum total of work earnings--approximately 400 billion forints in 1984--represents roughly two-thirds of the entire income of the population-at-large. In summary, the second income item is social income: pensions, family allowances, assistance for raising children, scholarships, and financial support by enterprises and institutions for housing construction. (This is not the same as an interest-free loan; this is a grant which does not have to be paid back.) The sum total of various kinds of social income exceeds 100 billion forints a year.

### Loans and Installment Payments

In the calculation of income, we have thereby surpassed 500 billion forints. There follow the so-called nonincome revenues. Strictly speaking, these are not new sources of acquiring money, they have existed for decades, and yet their role in the population's total income has increased extraordinarily in recent years. Taking out loans is to be mentioned first: a home-building loan, a loan for purchasing a dwelling and real estate, a loan for buying goods, a loan for developing the small-scale production of commodities. In recent years, the changes in financing the construction of a house have thoroughly expanded the possibilities for taking out a loan; today loans increase the people's total income by 50 billion forints a year. (The ratio of loans to all social incomes is about 10 percent.)

We have other nonincome revenues as well: insurance compensation, winnings from games of chance (soccer pool, horse racing, lottery), interest on OTP [National Savings Bank] deposits, rent, land rent--all these things together represent more than 30 billion forints in the people's income.

But it would be good if the gross income--the sum of which surpassed 600 billion forints in 1983--could be spent freely and was not burdened by financial obligations. Because the gross income starts to dwindle right in the paymaster's

office, in the places where wages are paid out: the progressive contribution to the retirement pension fund is deducted from them. Disregarding the chronological order in which the money dwindles: some sort of obligatory or voluntary disbursement or deduction is associated with every item of income; monetary social income is an exception. The opposite pole of income stemming from loans is payment by installments; its annual sum is roughly 30 billion forints. The second item--similar in size--in reducing gross income to net income is the contribution to the retirement pension fund. And the additional financial obligations: the income tax for self-employed persons, for employees and members of cooperative societies, the motor-vehicle tax, the wine-consumption tax, the contribution to communal development linked to income tax and property tax, miscellaneous levies, etc. The gross income of private craftsmen and small-scale producers of commodities is reduced by routine operating expenses. The financial burdens which are assumed voluntarily have proliferated: insurance premiums, outlays for games of chance (these latter two are not an insignificant sum, approximately 20 billion forints a year).

One side of the coin: the items modestly entitled nonincome revenues--loans, interest, compensation, prizes, etc--increase the population's gross income by roughly 20 percent, while a much greater share--25 percent--of the gross income is consumed by the process in which gross income is reduced to net income.

It can be said with slight exaggeration that the role of monetary tools in the people's financial matters has grown in recent years. Among the main items which shape the people's gross income in this plan period, income derived from work increased to a lesser degree than average, social incomes and loans at a rate surpassing the average. And while the real value of work income and social income declined, the population's total income was burdened to a growing degree by compulsory and voluntarily assumed financial outlays. As a result of progression and an increase in contribution rates, for example, the sum of contributions to retirement pension funds rose 45 percent in 3 years, that of loan repayments by about 30 percent.

#### Plans for Personal Tax

The role of financial outlays will grow in the coming years. There is no doubt that the contribution to communal development was the taxpayers' tax: at the moment of its birth, it contradicted the principle of sharing the tax burden equitably. The contribution to communal development was paid by about 2.5-3.0 million persons, those who are otherwise also taxpayers (income tax, house tax). The contribution was generally devoted by the councils to infrastructural developments. For the most part, however, the latter were linked to the regionally concentrated construction of state apartment houses. But the tenants of the state apartment houses did not pay the contribution to communal development. Well, next year the contribution to communal development will be replaced by the contribution to settlement development, which classifies every apartment tenant and every owner of a house, apartment or property as a taxpayer. There is no question that the new tax which replaces the old one carries out the principle of sharing the tax burden equitably, and yet from the standpoint of our topic it means that the population's total income is burdened with another tax.

Nor is it a secret that the authorities are weighing the possibility of introducing and developing a general personal income tax system which would make the general and proportionate sharing of taxation more equitable and at the same time would create more favorable conditions for the regulation of incentive wages. If this occurs, the population's financial matters will be monetarized even more strongly. (It will not be easy to develop a general personal income tax system in a country whose financial and fiscal apparatus has concentrated for decades on taxing economic organizations and where, at best, there is a reliable data base for legal income stemming from work.)

An important component of the population's general financial situation is savings. And although this now has a new form--a bond which bears interest at 8-11 percent and can be purchased by private individuals--the greatest share of savings by far appears in OTP deposits. (So far, the population has bought 1.5 billion forints' worth of these bonds, which enjoy the same state guarantee as savings deposits.) The population's total savings bank deposits have soared dynamically--amidst the appearance of a competitor offering more in interest--in the last 4 years from 160.1 billion forints to nearly 220 billion. Yearly savings including credited interest are in the neighborhood of 30 billion forints.

Overindebtedness, an utterly new and by no means positive phenomenon in the population's financial situation, is associated with the OTP. When we added up the gross incomes, we mentioned that more than 50 billion forints had been borrowed annually for several years and most of these were long-term loans for housing construction and purchase. Total loans (from the OTP's viewpoint) or total debts (from the population's viewpoint) have increased greatly in recent years; it was about 200 billion forints at the end of last year. An annual sum of roughly 30 billion forints in installment payments also indicates the degree of overindebtedness. There is no problem with financial equilibrium because the population's total savings deposits amply cover the total debts. Yet the depositors and the debtors are not personally identical: one part of the population has greater or smaller savings, and the other part has considerable debts and long-term loans.

The rise in the population's indebtedness and in long-term debts stemming from changes in housing construction and acquisition nowadays first and foremost affects the OTP's credit-granting practice. The high-interest short-term purchase loan is a decidedly good deal for the OTP. In the interest of maintaining and temporarily improving the standard of living to which it is accustomed, a part of the population would avail itself--even at high interest--of the so-called consumer loans the issuance of which has by no means increased as dynamically as loans for housing construction and purchase. (The purchase loans--there is no denying it--are a function of retail supply, domestic stockpile, and it may be that the supply of goods, not the credit limit, is getting tighter.)

#### Everyone Counts Money

It is certain, however, that the high level of loans for housing construction and acquisition and its subsequent increase--in the midst of a firm equilibrium

between the population's savings and total debts--will have a long-range impact on the consumption, purchasing power, and living standards of a very considerable part of the general public.

The population is extremely traditional in financial matters: hard cash, bank notes, and coins for income and expenditures. From the standpoint of money circulation, this traditionalism--this attachment to hard cash, bank notes, and coins--is less commendable, because the inflation-fanned increase in the population's income and expenditures requires an ever greater stock of bank notes. (Last year, for example, the value of bank notes and coins in circulation increased by 11 percent and reached 110 billion forints.) The so-called cash-sparing methods of accepting and spending money--check, savings account transfer, electronic circulation of money--have only taken root here and there. Tens of thousands of tellers, postal clerks, and storekeepers, in addition to the general public, count money in sums of billions day in and day out.

12327

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HUNGARY

PETER RACZ TO HEAD NEWS AGENCY'S NEW DELHI BUREAU

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No 33, 18 Aug 85 p 2

[Untitled article]

[Excerpt] The list of MAGYARORSZAG foreign correspondents expands now that the Hungarian News Agency has amplified its already impressive network of correspondents by establishing a bureau in New Delhi. The Hungarian News Agency's "man in India" is Peter Racz, whose name our readers will henceforth often encounter in our columns.

We are in the habit of introducing our colleagues here. So let us make the acquaintance of Peter Racz, who is relatively young but has already been many places.

He was born in 1951 in Miskolc and graduated there from the Ferenc Foldes High School. He pursued advanced studies at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences and earned his degree in the special field of international relations. He also studied for half a year at the Institute of International Relations in Moscow.

He joined the foreign affairs staff of the Hungarian News Agency as a trainee in 1975. He worked as a columnist for a few years before his assignment as correspondent.

He worked as a correspondent for the first time in Sofia in 1977. The following year he informed the Hungarian press about the Ethiopian-Somalian war for a month and a half from Addis Ababa. As a member of a team of foreign journalists at the United Nations' World Conference on Power Engineering in Kenya, he contributed to the conference's English-language paper. During his assignments abroad, he has reported from Great Britain, Iceland and Greece. He provided on-the-spot coverage of the Indian national elections and the Bhopal gas catastrophe in December of last year.

In 1979-80, he spent 8 months in the United States as the holder of a World Press Institute scholarship.

Within his news agency work which requires general knowledge, he has specialized mainly in the problems of the underdeveloped world, in Soviet-American relations,

and in disarmament issues. He has published numerous articles and essays on his special topics in various organs of mass information. For several years he was chief editor of the feature "This Happened in the World-at-Large" for the television program "The Week."

The Hungarian News Agency has awarded his work with two certificates of merit. He is married, his wife is a sales clerk, and they have a 17-year-old daughter.

We expect good work from our colleague. He will have plenty of assignments not only because he is going to a large country--one the size of a continent--which offers interesting events, but also because the correspondent's job of "setting up house" awaits him. So he will have a cartload of work.

12327

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HUNGARY

# POLICE POWERS INCREASED TO CURB DISSIDENTS

Budapest MAGYAR KOZLONY in Hungarian 20 Jul 85 pp 722-724

[Decree No 4/1985 (VII 20) BM of the Minister of Internal Affairs Concerning Police Authority Coercive Measures]

[Text] On the basis of the authority contained in paragraph (7), Section 13, of Council of Ministers' Decree No 39/1974 (IX 1) MT concerning the police, I decree the following.

1.

(1) The chief of the police station appropriate according to the residence or place of sojourn of the person involved can employ a police authority coercive measure (hereinafter, coercive measure):

- a. police authority supervision (hereinafter, police supervision),
- b. banishment, or
- c. police supervision and banishment jointly

against a Hungarian citizen or resident foreigner who is 16 years of age and resides on the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic, who evidences behavior regularly endangering the internal order of the Hungarian People's Republic, public order or public security.

(2) Police supervision and banishment can be employed jointly only if the possibility of residence and employment are provided for the person involved at the place of sojourn determined on the basis of what is contained in Section 10.

(3) The purpose of the coercive measure is:

- a. prevention of the commission of criminal acts,
- b. education of the person subject to the coercive measure to respect the laws and to adhere to the rules of social coexistence.

2.

A coercive measure can be ordered on the basis of paragraph (1), Section 1, especially against one who,

a. has been sentenced to and has completed a loss of freedom due to a deliberate criminal act or has been finally released from strict detention if, following release, there has been recidivism in accordance with the Criminal Code (Criminal Code, Section 137, points 12-14);

b. has been sentenced to a loss of freedom due to a deliberate criminal act and has completed the sentence, if

1. it could be concluded from the behavior during the execution of the sentence that the life philosophy of the criminal has not changed or there was the commission of serious violations of discipline during execution of the sentence suggesting a continuation of the earlier criminal way of life;

2. contact has been established or maintained with former inmates or other criminals insofar as this might lead to the commission of a criminal act;

c. within 2 years

1. has been arrested for misdemeanor avoiding work in a manner dangerous to the public or for prostitution and has been sentenced to loss of freedom for earlier delict avoidance of work in a manner dangerous to the public, prostitution, aiding prostitution, pandering or organizing forbidden games of chance;

2. has been arrested for misdemeanor rowdyism and has been sentenced earlier for delict rowdyism or violence against an official;

3. has been arrested for misdemeanor brawling and has been sentenced earlier for murder or serious bodily harm

and has not been rendered exempt from the consequences attaching to the prior life punished;

d. has been arrested

1. and sentenced to strict correctional-educational work for delict avoiding work in a manner dangerous to the public and 2 years have not elapsed since the punishment was borne or execution of it invalidated, or

2. within 2 years

a. has been arrested on at least two occasions for misdemeanor prostitution, rowdyism or brawling;

b. has been arrested at least once for avoiding work in a manner dangerous to the public and for the misdemeanors listed in subpoint 2/a

and it can be established from the way of life that placement under a coercive measure is necessary in the interest of changing the behavior and preventing the commission of crime or other misdemeanors.

3.

(1) The duration of the coercive measure:

- a. is 2 years, which can be extended by one year;
- b. in the case defined in point a, Section 2, is 3 years, which can be extended by one year each on two occasions;
- c. when extending the coercive measure the rules prescribed on the basis of sections 8-10 can be modified.

(2) A loss of freedom or strict correctional-educational work not exceeding 2 years, or 3 years in the case of point b, paragraph (1), is not counted in the duration of the coercive measure.

4.

A coercive measure cannot be ordered against one,

- a. who is in preliminary detention;
- b. who has been sentenced to loss of freedom, as long as the punishment lasts;
- c. who is performing strict correctional-educational work;
- d. who is under strict custody;
- e. who has been sentenced to loss of freedom and execution of the punishment has been suspended for a probationary period;
- f. who is performing correctional-educational work;
- g. who has been released to conditional freedom or temporarily released from strict custody;
- h. who has been released on probation;
- i. who is under the authority of correctional institution education;
- j. who is under protective supervision;
- k. who is in a pathological psychological condition;
- l. who is more than 4 months pregnant;
- m. who is completely incapable of work due to health deterioration or physical infirmity and is under the care of others;

n. who is under an institutional order for obligatory work therapy or temporary forced treatment;

o. who is suffering from a serious, long-term illness, and application of the coercive measure could be accompanied by a worsening of the condition.

5.

(1) The behavior of the person affected by the coercive measure must be watched constantly.

(2) The coercive measure must be terminated ex officio or at request if the person under the coercive measure

a. changes behavior favorably during or following the time indicated in the ordering resolution;

b. has begun to serve a loss of freedom sentence exceeding the legally specified 2 or 3 years;

c. is inducted for military service;

d. departs for abroad without permission or remains permanently abroad by defrauding the regulations;

e. a cause arises as defined in points c-o, Section 4, excluding the ordering of the coercive measure.

(3) A person under a coercive measure can make the request based on point a, paragraph (2), only once per year.

(4) The behavioral rules can be modified as a result of a review of the coercive measure.

6.

(1) A resolution concerning the ordering, extension or termination of a coercive measure must be announced before the person subjected to the proceeding and must be delivered to that person immediately.

(2) The ordering or termination of a coercive measure must be entered in the identity papers of the person subjected to the proceeding when the resolution takes effect or in the event of immediate execution.

7.

(1) An appeal against a first instance resolution can be lodged

a. within 8 days following the announcement of a resolution ordering or extending police supervision,

b. at the time of the announcement of the resolution in the case of banishment or police supervision combined with banishment.

(2) The time for a decision on an appeal against a resolution ordering banishment or police supervision combined with banishment is 3 days.

8.

(1) A person under police supervision is obliged

a. to appear at the police organization named in the resolution or to the policeman authorized to perform the supervision at the time prescribed;

b. to remain in his or her residence at the times prescribed in the resolution;

c. to permit the entry of the policeman performing the supervision into the residence (residential area) and to tolerate the supervision.

(2) A person under police supervision can be forbidden in the resolution

a. to leave the designated settlement or state administrative area (town, city, etc.) without the prior permission of the police station or the police organization designated in the resolution or to change the place of residence or dwelling;

b. to participate in public programs--unless a special regulation permits it;

c. to appear at the listed public places, localities, buildings, areas of commercial units, public places of amusement, apartment houses or private dwellings;

d. to make use of the designated roads or public mass transit facilities or to stay in or enter their stations, stops or terminals;

e. to have a telephone in the dwelling;

f. to have or use CB radio sets.

9.

(1) Within 8 days following the taking effect of the resolution a person banished is obliged

a. to leave the state administrative area designated in the resolution;

b. to go to a locality freely selected--not within the border zone--and report the change of address there and appear at the appropriate police organization.

(2) A person banished must be forbidden to appear in the area designated in the resolution without the prior permission of the police station appropriate according to the place of residence.

10.

In the case of the combined ordering of police supervision and banishment what is contained in sections 8 and 9 is the guide with the difference that

- a. the police authority issuing the order determines the place of sojourn for the person subject to the coercive measure;
- b. the person subject to the coercive measure is obliged to travel to and report at the designated place of sojourn within 8 days following the announcement of a valid resolution so ordering;
- c. the rules for police supervision go into effect with the expiration of the 8 days indicated in point b.

11.

A person under the effect of a coercive measure cannot receive a driver's license (vehicle permit). A driver's license (vehicle permit) received before the ordering of the coercive measure must be withdrawn.

12.

The regional effect of the coercive measure and the sphere of the obligations or prohibitions must be determined on the basis of the dangerousness to society of the person subject to the proceeding and to the degree necessary to attain the goals contained in paragraph (3), Section 1, taking into consideration also the personal (family, work, residence, etc.) circumstances of the person subject to the coercive measure.

13.

In justified cases and on request the police organization ordering the coercive measure or the police organization appropriate according to the residence of the person under the coercive measure can temporarily relax the obligations or prohibitions.

14.

If the person involved is not yet 18 years of age at the time of the ordering of the coercive measure then sections 1-13 must be applied with the following differences:

- a. the duration of the coercive measure is 1 year, which can be extended 1 additional year;
- b. banishment and banishment combined with police supervision can be applied only if this is not accompanied by a breaking of family bonds (including here an institution).

15.

(1) This decree goes into effect on 1 October 1985. Its provisions must be applied in cases not yet judged with a first instance resolution as well.

(2) Decree No 4/1976 (VII 24) BM simultaneously loses its force.

signed,

Jeno Foldesi

State Secretary for the Ministry of Internal Affairs

8984

CS0: 2500/510

HUNGARY

BRIEFS

GDR-HUNGARIAN ENVIRONMENT AGREEMENT--MTI--Hans Reichert, GDR deputy minister of Environmental Protection and Water Conservation, who led a delegation to Hungary on 5-9 August, finished his talks on Friday [9 August]. The GDR deputy minister conducted talks with Kalman Abraham, state secretary, chairman of the National Environmental and Ecological Protection Office, and they signed an agreement valid for the two countries until 1990. Hans Reichert also conducted talks with Antal Kovacs, state secretary, chairman of the National Water Affairs Office and they signed a coordinating working plan for the years 1986-90. The GDR delegation visited the Tisza Chemical Plants in Szentendre, the water purification centers, the Dunamenti Regional Water Works, the Water Conservation Enterprise, and in Budapest the Eszakepesti Sewage Farm, the Water Conservation Institute, and the Scientific Research Center for Water Conservation. Hans Reichert was received by Deputy Premier Laszlo Marothy, member of the MSZMP Politburo. [Summary] [Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Aug 85 p 4 AU]

EARTHQUAKE DAMAGE--This morning's earthquake has not caused major damage anywhere in Hungary. Experts have stated that the strength of the earth tremors was 4.5 on the 12-degree Mercalli scale, in other words, quite weak. This unusual natural phenomenon was first noticed at 0613 hours. Since then, there have been several slight earth tremors. It is not yet known where the epicenter was. However, the earthquake was felt in several parts of the capital as well as in the counties of Baranya, Bacs-Kiskun, Tolna, Veszprem, Zala, and Somogy. In Budapest, the chimney of the building at 81 Nepkoeztarsasag Road collapsed and the area around the building has been cordoned off by firemen. [Text] [Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 15 Aug 85]

CSO: 2500/501

POLAND

PARTY CLAIMS REBUILDING GOING WELL

LD181227 Warsaw PAP in English 1100 GMT 18 Jul 85

[Article by unidentified PAP journalist]

[Text] Warsaw, July 18--Four years ago these days, the 9th extraordinary congress of the Polish United Workers' Party came to an end. The congress was held in a difficult political situation already amid growing perils to the national existence and the fate of socialism in Poland. The historic dimension of the congress, the decisions it passed, and its political and moral climate, contributed to a profound change of life in Poland.

Three years after the dramatic period of the year 1981, when the slogan "Socialism-yes, distortions-no" had been proclaimed from the rostrum of the 9th congress, the characteristic feature of Poland's present situation achieved under the guidance of the party "the same but not alike," is social and economic normalization, progressing democratization and consolidation of the socialist state.

The recent 20th plenary meeting of the Central Committee demonstrated that the party, having returned to unflinching Leninist norms, has scored a significant progress in rebuilding its internal ties and mechanisms of operation. There is a growing stability of party ranks, the number of members expelled or struck off the rolls is on the decline, while the number of candidates for members is going up and is dominated by young workers.

The majority of the basic party organizations have overcome passivity, grown stronger and become more active, also regaining confidence and the positions of political leaders in factories. At present the party has 2,112,000 members and candidate members. Thus, despite a considerable outflow mainly in 1981-1982, it remains a mass political party. There are more than a dozen voivodships where, for several months now, admissions to party organizations have out-scaled expulsions. The plenary meeting confirmed that lasting trends of increase in party ranks were visible.

What is particularly welcome is the fact that workers and young people under 29 predominate among fresh candidates for members. For quite a long time now, more young people were being admitted to the party than quit it, political bureau report to the meeting stressed.

The resolution on improving the effectiveness of the party's political and organizational activity, passed by the 20th plenary meeting, pointed to a need for better deployment of party forces designed to secure active party presence in all important milieux, and above all among the working class of big industrial centres.

Interviewed by L'HUMANITE, PUWP CC first secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski said, among other things: "We, Polish Communists, have only one tribunal and one judge--our nation. At the same time, we are responsible before international working-class movement for the way in which we combine, in everyday practice, universal principles of socialism with a creative adaptation of our distinctive traits, as shaped by history."

The 10th congress, announced for the second quarter of 1986, will adopt a long-range programme of the party. Debate on a draft of this programme will contribute to ideological and political strengthening of the party and of Poland.

CSO: 2020/219

POLAND

## KWIATKOWSKI RESPONDS TO CRITICISM OF POLL

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 32, 10 Aug 85 p 4

[Article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski]

[Text] How I became a conjurer--such could be the title of this article. I have been called a conjurer by one Western radio station broadcasting in Polish and ostensibly for Poles (not very bright ones, I guess). Commenting on my article "Criticism And Credibility" (Polityka of July 27), this radio station expressed the view that the fact that "an official, state institute in a communist country" announced what segment of society was critical and of what was extraordinary. "IT IS A MIRACLE THAT THESE FIGURES HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED," the radio station said.

"There is no doubt about it that the publication of facts which are inconvenient for the regime and discredit it is a sign of progress," said the radio station. "But in the communist system researching public opinion is a soap bubble (...) the alarming findings of public polls lose their edge here and are little more than tolerated foolery under these conditions."

So it's a sham, a conjuring trick and communist hypocrisy.

What Western correspondents liked most about my article were the statistics, the fact that, replying to the question "does the present policy of the Government promise that the crisis will be overcome?" 64% of all respondents said "no" or "probably not" and that 48% thought that the steps taken by the authorities to prevent repeated crises were insufficient (of which 26% thought that "what is being done is superficial and provides no guarantee that a crisis will not recur" 13% said that "old methods are still in use" and 9% answered that "nothing of the sort is being done.").

The radio station said that the Austrian press commenting on these figures was astonished that they had been printed. Astonishment and a sort of joy were expressed by almost all Western journalists.

"It's strange that the Polish authorities think it necessary to seek public approval for the Government policy," the BBC said on July 30. "Three and a half years after martial law was imposed in Poland, there is still a solidarity of views in society. People simply don't like the methods which are being used to govern them."

"At least half of all people are critical of the present state of the economy, the method of the exercise of power and [the Government's] policy in general," Die Welt wrote on July 31.

"The surveys conducted by the Center indicate that two-thirds of all Poles don't believe that General Jaruzelski will be able to extricate the country from the economic crisis," RFE announced on August 1, with typical exaggeration.

Please note: 48% became "at least half" in Die Welt, two-thirds in RFE, and "a solidarity of views in society" in the BBC.

The Frenchmen from Le Monde (July 31) were not satisfied even by this criticism, so they intimated that the actual situation was even worse. Le Monde wrote: "Naturally, it should be assumed that the respondents all spoke their minds to the pollsters without hesitation." According to the paper, the results have been published "in a form which of course makes it impossible to verify them."

I wonder how the paper imagines this verification: would it like to check on the pollsters or the computers?

It has once again been confirmed that the Western media pick up and repeat only the critical, pessimistic reports of the Polish press. Then they do not have to put in too much effort to present the situation in Poland in a gloomy light.

It is generally known that statistical data can be interpreted in diverse ways, to suit the interpreter's intentions. If you try hard enough you can stretch the statistics to the point when they become lies. This is evident in the above quoted excerpts. I, too, could have viewed the results of the survey from a different angle: instead of saying that 48% of respondents were critical of the reality, I could have said that more than a half were viewing the Government favorably (which is true!) and appreciated its achievements. Instead of stressing that 64% of the respondents disapproved, I could have brought to light the remaining ones, those who said Yes--who had no objections and endorsed the authorities' steps.

If I added to this those who wanted the Government to act more consistently and firmly, i.e., 26% of those 64%, and another 13% who wanted to eliminate the persisting use of old methods, that would total 75%, i.e., three-quarters of the whole population! Eventually, I would have ended up with those 9% who chose an unequivocal no ("nothing of the sort is being done"). I am sure Western correspondents would not notice such an "optimistic"--and true--version! If they want to earn money, they have to adjust to the policy of their papers.

Frankly speaking, approaches to the publication of criticism and results of polls vary in Poland, too. I wrote here earlier about those approaches. Unfortunately, some people think that results of polls should not be published because this does more harm than good and "plays into the enemies' hands." Well, opinions vary on most issues, this one included. The staff of the Polling Center found it very rewarding when General Jaruzelski again referred to the Center's surveys, this time during his speech closing the 21st Plenary Meeting of the PZPR Central Committee on August 3. I recommend that you study the part of the speech which concerns directly the excitement of Western news agencies commenting on the article "Criticism and Credibility."

I wonder how the correspondent of the French news agency AFP who sent a report from Warsaw on July 30 will react to Genral Jaruzelski's statement. The correspondent wrote: "the publication of the results of this poll once and for all disproves the opinions, extensively propagated by the Government, that the vast majority of Poles support the action taken to extricate the economy from the crisis."

I would recommend greater prudence on judging "once and for all" what Poles think, how they evaluate the situation and what they support. It is with this intention that I dedicate the following two tables, which present the results (in percentages) of a national survey, to AFP. The survey covered 2,300 people selected at random from the electoral rolls (the sample was representative of all electors). I am nor providing an interpretation--they are going to pick up figures and comment on them in line with instructions anyway.

Do you think that the situation the areas listed below is now better, worse or the same as two or three years ago?

	Much better	Slightly better	The same	Slightly worse	Much worse	Don't know
1. Food supplies	16.7	58.6	12.2	5.5	3.5	3.5
2. Supplies of manufactured goods	9.4	46.6	20.3	11.4	6.7	5.5
3. Average wage of employees	5.3	26.6	25.2	17.8	10.1	15.1
4. Growth of prices-- inflation	1.0	6.2	13.2	31.4	39.9	8.3
5. Practical observation of the principle that wages depend on work	3.3	18.6	32.1	10.4	10.6	24.9

Do you think that the work of these organizations and institutions does good service to the public and suits its interests?

	Definitely yes	I think so	I don't think so	Definitely no	Don't know
The Government, The Council of Ministers	18.6	56.9	10.4	2.5	11.6
The army	14.9	49.4	9.7	3.6	12.5
The PRON	11.8	46.4	11.6	4.8	25.4
The PZPR	16.6	49.6	12.7	5.6	15.5
The Church	32.0	48.0	6.3	1.8	12.0
The United Peasants Alliance [ZSL]	10.4	52.0	8.7	2.2	26.6
The Council of State	20.5	53.5	6.9	1.8	17.3
Trade unions	12.2	49.7	11.5	5.2	21.4
Civil Militia and the Internal Affairs Ministry	12.6	45.2	13.2	9.0	20.1
The Democratic Alliance [SD]	8.0	47.6	9.6	3.5	31.2
The Sejm	28.2	50.9	6.7	1.4	12.7

[us, asp]

CSO: 2020/14

POLAND

OLSZOWSKI ON IMPORTANCE OF JOURNALISTS' TIES WITH POLONIA

LD182308 Warsaw PAP in English 2023 GMT 18 Jul 85

[Text] Warsaw, July 18--PUWP CC Political Bureau member and Poland's Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski here today granted annual foreign minister's awards to four Polish journalists for particular achievements in press, radio and TV coverage of issues related to Polish communities abroad.

The awards went to Henryk Galat of the Polish press agency PAP, Augustyn Mroczkowski of the Polish radio and TV, Zbigniew Rozanski of the KURIER POLSKI daily and Leszek Watrobski of the HEJNAL MARIACKI paper.

Addressing the prize-winners, Minister Olszowski pointed to the significance of journalist's work in expanding and tightening comprehensive contacts between Poland and Polish communities abroad, in presenting society with the principles of this cooperation which is a lasting element of Poland's foreign policy and in providing information on different aspects of expatriate Poles' life.

The ceremony was attended by PUWP CC Political Bureau Alternate Member and CC Secretary Jan Glowczyk, member of the Council of State and chairman of the Christian Social Association Kazimierz Morawski, head of the PUWP CC department of the press, radio and television Bogdan Jachacz, representatives of the leaderships of the United Peasants's Party, Democratic Party and social organizations.

CSO: 2020/219

POLAND

# KWIATKOWSKI POLL ON ECONOMIC SITUATION

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 30, 27 Jul 85 p 6

[Article by Stanislaw Kwiatkowski]

[Text] The reports of the Public Opinion Polling Center reveal that at least 50% of Polish society expresses criticism of the economic situation, of the manner of exercising power and of the Government's policy in general.

The criticism of some of them stems from impatience with the present slow rate of introducing reform; others wish us to offer intellectual support and assistance; still others thus express their opposition to the system. Although the latter constitute the smallest group, they evidently exist.

Those who are following the Government's efforts attentively have to admit that "the top leadership is willing to listen to the rank-and-file." They are open to proposals and consultations; they respond to criticism, in press articles or in letters from citizens; they take notice of analysis provided by the relevant institutions and advisory bodies. For instance, recently the Council of Ministers assessed the work of press spokesmen, the reaction of offices and institutions to criticism from the press, and the way state administration agencies handle complaints and suggestions from citizens.

What are the most frequent subjects of criticism from the rank-and-file? The public seems to be extremely sensitive, or sometimes even oversensitive, to signs of social injustice, infringement of the principles of democracy, unreliable information etc. People react spontaneously and emotionally to the arrogant behavior of civil servants, the misuse of personal connections, undeserved privileges, abuse of official powers for personal benefits, corruption, embezzlement, profiteering and under-the-counter sales of goods in short supply. People are also outraged with the poor organization of work and mismanagement and waste in state enterprises. All this indicates that people know well what they are against and they generally agree on this point.

This should by no means be a reason for Government concern. Why should they worry if what is being criticized most sharply is in fact, the quinintessence of antisocialism? In this sense, our society has already

become a socialist one. There is no return to the discredited habits and practices of the past, there is no public consent for social ills. The Government is certain to have full public approval and support for its efforts in this direction. Public opinion polls indicate, however, that part of the public is skeptical as to whether the Government will cope in this difficult situation.

One of the questions included in the all-Poland questionnaire was:

"The authorities claim they are making efforts to prevent the recurrence of the past crises. Is this really the case, in your view?"

Nearly half of those polled (48-49%) said "no." Others observed that "what is being done is superficial and provides no guarantee against the recurrence of the crisis" (26%), or that "there are still many examples to show that the old methods are still in use" (13%), or that "nothing like this is being done" (9%).

These figures were recorded following the December 1984 poll, and seem to continue in the April 1985 poll. The percentage of those who appreciate the authorities' efforts has decreased (from 26% in December '84 to 23% in April '85). All in all, one quarter of the respondents opted for positive answers: "yes, there are several examples to illustrate this," or "yes, but the efforts are inadequate for the need." The number of those replying "basically yes, but there are many shortcomings in their activities" has grown (from 24.4% to 28.6%). Between 27 and 32% of those polled stated that "the old, pre-August political methods are still being used" and more than one third said that "the old methods are sometimes applied." Every fourth respondent (23-26%) is of the opinion that "certain phenomena which can be described as consistent with the spirit of renewal and the reform have been observed."

Negative answers--"no," or "probably not" were given by 64% of all respondents to the question "Does the present policy of the Government promise that the economic crisis will be overcome? This proves that economic pessimism among the public is growing, unlike the political mood which is pretty optimistic. People do not seem to worry about the political situation; it is the economy which is their major concern. There is a strong feeling of insecurity following the price increases, which is quite understandable.

It is primarily prices which give reason for public dissatisfaction (73%), poor supplies of consumer goods (53%)--particularly of manufactured consumer goods (61%)--and wages (41%); other questions, including political ones, are mentioned less frequently (11-28%) by respondents.

The fact that more than a half of those polled (56%) assessed work organization in state enterprises to be poor, or very poor, is alarming. When asked about prospects for improvement in various areas, as seen at the end

of last year (October-December), the respondents were most pessimistic about the organization of work in state enterprises: "Nothing is going to change" said 43% of those polled in December '84.

It is no wonder that heavy industry workers are the most critical; the larger the factory, the larger the city, the higher the skills of the worker--the sharper the criticism. The age factor is equally important: thirty-year-olds seem to be uncompromisingly critical of the distortions of our system, even if what they criticize is attributed to socialism. Unfortunately, although they seem to know what they are against, they hardly know what they are for. They can be united much more easily against something than in favor of a specific cause.

Are the authorities drawing relevant conclusions from this fact? Are they taking it into consideration in their political activities? I do not think so. Criticism has become the political opponents' monopoly and many to politicians are unable to face the charges. They seem to forget that criticism enhances the authorities' credibility. Moreover, "silence is sometimes equivalent to the sharpest criticism." If criticism dies out, it will certainly be replaced by stagnation, indolence and apathy. I am definitely in favor of stimulating, promoting and encouraging outspoken criticism. It is essential that we take over the initiative. "It will be easiest in informative policy, in propaganda, including the mass media. Ironically, our propaganda has so far failed to convince many people what and who they should support. Most often it tries to convince those who have already been convinced--primarily its own apparatus--while fighting the opponents. Those practicing militant propaganda--which is always the same, fighting rather than winning over--are in excess. The times of martial law are over, today we need a different approach to the problem.

The 50% of the Polish society mentioned earlier needs a multi- rather than one-sided argument. They want to be convinced; they want to enjoy the luxury of free choice. Good propaganda has to give vent to public criticism, let people talk, mocking detrimental extremist, and primitive attitudes. Such attempts have already been made by television.

In this connection it is interesting to read what Rudolp Paciok, a worker from the Warsaw-based Predom works said on the subject in the last issue of Tworczosc Robotnicza (No 14, 1985):

"The shortages of materials and organizational flaws make us critical, which is frequently seen as fault-finding and, therefore, discourages our constructive and socially-justified efforts. It is easy to discourage, but much more difficult to encourage (...). Workers use arguments arising from the nature of their work. In addition to those used by workers, managers use arguments based on their professional position. They are in a position to hush people up (...). We want to get our arguments across to the people outside our work group. We believe the National Cultural Council, radio, television and the press will prove helpful in this respect.

We are neither surprised nor discouraged by the difficulties. We would feel ill at ease if these suddenly disappeared. Struggle is a basic element of the working class tradition. The picture of a fighting worker is nothing new: fighting, rebellious, in the creative sense, dissatisfied with what he is doing today because he realizes that what he will be doing tomorrow could be done with much less effort."

Party members should find themselves among the most severe critics.

For them, criticism is not only a right but, primarily, a duty. The Party should be in the lead of public discontent. How can we explain the fact that workers in heavy industry--those best skilled--are among those most dissatisfied? Does this mean that socialism becomes weak where it should be the strongest? Or perhaps this is to prove that workers have become "a class for itself"? By posing these questions I mean to point out that the approach to criticism is an important ideological matter and an evidence of who the authorities support in their economic decisions, in their political activities and propaganda efforts.

I frequently listen to the opinions of those "at the top," who are identified with the authorities on account of my professional duties. Unfortunately, some of them have an extremely emotional approach to citizens' complaints, taking them too personally; they would be happier if they knew nothing about them as they "know better" anyway. They seem to be extremely nervous, or assume a patronizing tone when discussing public criticism. Many officials consider the fact that a couple of their subordinates "do nothing" except reply citizens' complaints" to be a more serious problem than the problems raised in the complaints, or in the number of complaints. As it is, there are many of those who "do nothing" during their office hours, so why worry? Their approach to these pettifogging problems is marked by a similar measure of exaggeration. They find examples of a few maniacs addressing endless complaints to countless institutions, instead of dealing with the crux of the matter, which is the problems raised by the majority of citizens. They concentrate on sensational news like that about a maniac who had sent 300 letters claiming his rights.

Or take anonymous letters. It is easy to throw them into the waste-paper basket referring to ethics, morals, etc. But what if an estimated 60% of these letters prove to be true? If most people are afraid to sign their letters after life has taught them to be cautious? How can you possibly ignore a letter containing charges which make sensational reading even if only some of them are true. In my view it is better to check before throwing letters into the waste-paper basket.

I have also stated that the state administration officials' reaction to public opinion polls is similar--they are either reserved or indulgent ("we know all this very well"); nonchalant ("it's nothing new--just a waste of time") or impatient ("aren't there enough critics?"). Some of them try hard to question the results of the poll, flaunting their knowledge of sociology and concentrating on technicalities such as the method of formulating questions or the possibility of their misinterpretation.

Those whose education has little to do with the humanities seem to be the greatest experts in public opinion polling and the most severe critics of the present polling techniques and methods. A telecommunications engineer who is not able to explain why it is virtually impossible to get a quick connection between Otwock and Warsaw feels competent to instruct sociologists on how they should formulate questions in a poll.

I have found out many times that many administration officials are extremely sensitive on the issue of the reliability of public opinion polls, just as if they were trying to prove that the findings were faked. Two years ago when we were drafting the first polling program for the Center, I asked various central offices to voice their expectations regarding the work of the newly established public opinion surveying center. Half of them did not bother to answer at all. The majority of those who did wrote such nonsense that it would be a shame to quote them.

How do you like the response of "a very important person" who, referring to the POPC report remarked patronizingly that he "agreed" with the findings included. He agreed! Although it seems to be a trivial matter it nevertheless illustrates the popular way of thinking. The way the average citizens question the credibility of the POPC findings at various meetings I have had the opportunity to attend is quite different. It frequently takes a lot of time to explain technical matters to them, including the methods of conducting such studies, whether these are conducted thoroughly; what are the purposes for taking polls etc. During a recent recording for a television program "People and Events" the workers present at the studio began questioning me about technicalities and procedural matters--in the name of the said credibility--even before I had a chance to discuss the polls' findings, which, in my view, were the most interesting point. They wanted to know whether what people say is "polished" or "adjusted" to please the authorities.

Fortunately, this section of the program has been cut by the editors because I am afraid that even if I swore that nothing like this takes place in our work and that we do make every effort to portray the reality we study with maximum fidelity, they would not believe me anyway. I am not trying to claim that errors do not occur at every stage of our activity, beginning from the skill of formulating questions, to the reliability of our local pollsters, to data coding and processing and these are not easy to eliminate completely.

I admit I was at first annoyed with having to explain the most basic technicalities, rather than discussing the essence of the matter. However, I am no longer annoyed or surprised. As long as there are self-confident and haughty officials, people, especially workers will be suspicious and oversensitive about the reliability of our findings. They want to be certain they can believe in what we say.

CSO: 2020/14

POLAND

# SOCIOLOGY PROFESSOR LOOKS AT POLES' ANXIETIES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 28, 13 Jul 85 p 3

[Interview with Professor Mikolaj Kozakiewicz by Zdzislaw Zaryczny, date, place not given]

[Text] Question: Professor, let us talk about the anxious Poles.

Answer: I don't like using the term "Pole" when discussing this sort of problem. It makes me think of "Pole to Pole" [famous saying by Walesa--tr. note], "Pole = Catholic," a "true Pole," etc. Socio-vocational, cultural, educational and professional criteria are much more reliable indicators of a disposition to anxiety or frustration.

These criteria are another reason why I would not want to relate anxiety to our national character, which is after all, an unknown quantity, although there are, of course, certain characteristics that make the people of one nationality differ from those of another.

Q.: Courage, for example. For centuries the European tradition has been that Poles are heroic and fearless.

A.: Why then are there so many time-servers among us? Why then, at every stage, are there so many obedient yes-men preferring their own security, quiet life and privileges to the general good? On frequent occasions these people have in full consciousness given public lie to what they really believe and feel.

Q.: Instead, they found new reasons for frustration and neurosis.

A.: Again, if all Poles were really so very fearless and brave, there wouldn't be so many alcoholics among us. After all, getting drunk is a type of escapism, and only in part can it be culturally explained, because "Poles always drink." Above all, drinking is a reaction of escape and exclusion, the reaction of weak people, unable to manage on their own or trying to stifle their inner conflicts.

Q.: All the same, people are generally aware of this danger. When, recently, the Cracow Public Opinion Polling Center asked about the most acute danger to Poles, the majority of respondents mentioned alcoholism.

A.: Yet, too often alcoholism is presented in Poland as the root of all evil--delinquency, disintegration of the family, road accidents etc. All this is true, however, one should also ask how does this alcoholism arise, what are its causes?

We shall learn something about it when we examine the economic situation, the alternative ways in which society can develop, people's anxieties and sense of danger, frustrations and feelings of impotence, envy of their brethren and of other societies with whom it is not possible to catch up. Only then will we be able to grasp better what makes people look for an escape in alcohol or drugs.

Q.: Let us therefore try to describe the anxieties Poles have been experiencing over the last five years, both in relation to major public affairs, the nation's future and the prospect of civil war, and the more personal anxieties, about self-achievement, family security, wrong political choice and the judgement of the authorities and one's friends. I think that all of us have experienced anxiety during the last five years and, although the present situation is totally different we haven't freed ourselves from these anxieties. More often than not, we do not even realize how they arise.

A.: They certainly arise from the acuteness of the crisis, but also from the extent to which people realize its acuteness. The pilot who sees the first signs of danger on his dials, is apprehensive. Not so the passengers, although their situation is the same. The discernment of the pilot and his passengers differ and therefore their respective anxieties are not alike. It is very important that we remember that anxieties caused by feelings of danger depend on access to information!

Also, anxiety depends on one's imagination, whether one can imagine the further consequences of a definite situation, foresee possible variants in the course of events that can follow and, in view of them, assess the current situation correctly. It depends on imagination--and, of course, intelligence and ability to reason--whether the feeling of anxiety will induce action and counteraction or whether it will paralyze the will.

Last but not least, there is the question of the threshold of frustration. When major aspirations become frustrated, all people experience this feeling, they only differ in the height of their respective thresholds, which find relief in either aggression or depression. Certain people's thresholds are low; these people feel frustrated at the first obstruction they encounter, the first reprimand or critical review they receive. Individuals with different thresholds will differ in their reactions to the same situation and it is difficult to predict their respective reactions.

Q.: Does the same apply to social circles?

A.: To some degree, yes. Certain circles are very susceptible to frustration, because of their greater knowledge, intelligence, imagination and better discernment of the real facts, with the latter not always limited to official sources alone...

Q.: You mean intellectuals, artists, journalists?

A.: Also economists who know the real state of our economy considerably earlier than the rest of us. Needless to say, the frustration threshold in these circles is lower than that of blue-collar workers. This is confirmed by sociological questionnaires, from which it can be seen that, for example, a managerial position gives a blue-collar worker a sense of security, satisfaction and general confidence, while college graduates holding managerial jobs feel greater anxiety and become more prone to neuroses.

Q.: Can you manipulate people's anxieties?

A.: It is very often the case. It is interesting, however, that certain anxieties, even if justified, don't yield to manipulation. The threat of the third world war is by no means a paper tiger, and yet although our propaganda resorts to this motive frequently, it is all to no avail.

A.: Why?

A.: It's my guess that this is so because of the insufficient credibility of the Polish mass media, because people have bad memories from the past ("we have been scared many times before"), and because the majority of Poles tend to turn a blind eye to anything that is not an internal affair.

Q.: Does this mean a return to totally inward looking policies in Poland?

A.: It's worse than that--to national parochialism. We tend not to see the connection between our own economic crisis and the economic crisis worldwide, and between the Polish political crisis and what has been going on in Europe and elsewhere. We treat Poland as a black spot on the rosy map of the world. The point is that the whole map is black.

Q.: Do societies that are better organized, more orderly and better functioning experience anxieties to a lesser degree, or do they not experience them at all?

A.: They feel other anxieties. There is no society without any anxiety at all, there are only societies who experience their respective anxieties in a different manner, to different degrees and for different reasons. For example, in highly industrialized capitalist countries people are very much bothered about the threat of nuclear war or environmental pollution, and also about the demographic boom and famine in the Southern hemisphere.

Every time I come back from a foreign trip I am amazed by the absence of this kind of anxiety in our society, what is more, professionals are not interested in these problems either. Somehow the fundamental and still unresolved global problems of our times don't cause any anxiety in Poland, although such anxiety might be sobering and even constructive.

Q.: Maybe this is just lack of imagination?

A.: Irrespective of its causes, this is a very dangerous phenomenon. After all is said and done, we must see our own anxieties in the context of existing and growing worldwide dangers, which we should fear not in order to become totally inert or decadent, but in order to understand that as a nation we are all doomed to the same future, irrespective of the differences dividing us. The sooner we come to terms with one another, the more strength and chance we will have of braving the existing threats.

Q.: Does this mean that the most dangerous anxiety is of the fear of ourselves?

A.: Yes, Poles are above all afraid of one another. They are afraid of their own future. This fear is "two edged."

A certain part of the public fears that the authorities (meaning various managers and holders of power) won't be able to implement the necessary reforms, to ensure decent living conditions for the present and future generations, and stave off the specter of Poland as Europe's Bangladesh. On the other hand, certain representatives of the power apparatus maintain that you can't do anything with a society like ours.

Q.: With mutual distrust of this sort we won't ever make any progress!

A.: You're absolutely right! That is why the authorities should always show their competence and ability to lead the people, consider credible prospects of goals and tasks that would harmonize with society's aspirations, while society's performance should make the execution of these goals and tasks possible. The difficulty is that we still have to face the wait-and-see attitudes and mutual grudges, combined with the simultaneous narrowing of channels of mutual communication and cooperation.

Q.: I'm afraid that this situation can evolve into the disintegration of society and to people's over-concentration on their private affairs. This can lead to the situation of the drifting ice-floe.

A.: An accordingly powerful integrating factor should oppose it.

Q.: But what could such a powerful factor be?

A.: For example, the instinct of self-preservation.

Q.: Well, isn't it a powerful factor?

A.: As yet, it isn't. It might sound paradoxical, but Poles today en masse are feeling safer than other people, because they are consciously pooh-poohing certain fears.

However, it would be an oversimplification to assume that Poland is an oasis of specific anxieties, involving only national problems. The entire modern-day world is filled with anxiety, which in various countries, for various reasons, manifests itself in different ways.

The reasons why people try to escape reality are different, although the mechanisms of their behavior are the same or very similar. All countries, both in the East and the West, are facing the problems of alcoholism, drug addiction, escape into mysticism, various cults, informal groups and sub-cultures.

The Isles of the Blest no longer exist on this earth.

Q.: Professor, I want now to switch to the practical effects of the feeling of anxiety on the sphere of politics. Is it possible to manage others well if the managers feel definite anxieties while those managed are not free of various fears and phobias either?

A.: Both physiology and psychology know two effects of fear--one causes paralysis and the other mobilizes the person affected. I mean precisely fear and not anxiety, which is general and subconscious, and that is associated with insecurity and helplessness. It is fear that in concrete situations can give birth to bold decisions, as was the case, for example, in 1980 and 1981, when many representatives of different power ranks risked moves that they would never have decided on earlier.

This example shows that the sense of fear is not always destructive. If fear prompts a radical eradication of the causes of danger--which more often than not result from sheer incompetence or stale and rigid dogmas--then the prospects for both the ruled and the rulers are good. These prospects are bad, however, if fear prompts the closing of ranks, the defense of one's own position at all costs and finds fault with those who oppose the state of things instead of finding fault with the state of things themselves.

In my opinion, authority should know fear. It is very bad if the authorities feel too much at ease, no matter what they are doing. Authorities who rule without difficulty degenerate. That is why I have been preaching a kind of opposition for a long time. I mean, however, not an aggressive opposition aimed against the system and at the disintegration of the state, but such that would have the right to say "no" in certain situations and be able to exert a real influence on the decisions made.

Q.: But we do not need only those who say "no." What we need is a confrontation of ideas and initiatives. Contacts and dialogue are indispensable.

A.: A confrontation of ideas and arguments is necessary. We should not fear it. It seems to me, however, that the authorities treat such confrontation with distrust, fearing that many people will in advance admit that the

adversary is right. After all, this fear of the authorities is justified, because such a situation is very likely to arise, but for a short time only, while people overcome their previous mistrust.

Q.: Doesn't this "short time" sound too optimistic?

A.: No, it doesn't. Although at the beginning the arguments "for the authorities" would be rejected by many participants in this hypothetical confrontation of ideas and arguments, in the long run, however, it would be possible to put them forward more fully and to a wider forum, to say nothing of the chance it would give to authentically convince the people. The theory of propaganda states that the only effective method of advocating certain truths is the open declaring of oneself "for" or "against" something as well as the serious treatment of the recipient of propaganda by giving him the chance to make a choice.

Although the authorities don't quite believe in the force of their own arguments, nevertheless these arguments are sometimes very strong and solid, this applies to arguments pertaining to the international situation and internal necessities as well as to the faults of society. After all, whatever the failings of the authorities, it is not they, we must acknowledge, who produce the shoddy goods.

A.: Can everyone be convinced and won over?

A.: We should talk and communicate with almost everyone. At the moment, we do not talk to people labeled in a particular way--I could quote many examples--what is more, we prejudge them. This line of treatment produces a mystique, a myth about certain individuals and groups. Certainly, there are intellectuals preaching moves that can't be made under our constitution, such as the abolition of the Party's leading role or withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. These propositions are the paranoid delusions of a handful of individuals. In the case of these few there is indeed no sense in talking. But why shouldn't we talk and listen to people whose feet are firmly on the ground and who have concrete grudges and want to change concrete things?

Q.: Can you bear the authorities a grudge considering their experiences in the years 1980 and 1981?

A.: Well, not altogether! It is a fact that in the stormy post-August [1980] period the same intellectuals, backed by the powerful organization of the time, flogged the same authorities who are in power now. The authorities can't forget it, just as the activists of that organization who were flogged at a latter date can't forget what they experienced either.

I believe that now the two parties should show a certain readiness to throw off their respective traumas, frustrations, mutual grudges and fears, although these are often justified and have, moreover, mounted in recent years. We need a good climate for public dialogue, discussions and talk, for the exchange of views and ideas.

Q.: Thank you for this meeting.

CSO: 2020/14

POLAND

#### HOW PUBLIC VIEWS MILITIA SURVEYED

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 32, 10 Aug 85 p 7

[Text] In April 1985, the Public Opinion Polling Center (CBOS) anonymously tested a representative group of 1,500 adult Poles to see how they perceive the work of the Civil Militia (MO) towards maintaining public order and its role in combatting and preventing crime. Scientists from CBOS were also interested in the public's perception of relations between the militia and the public. The poll indicated that 36.5% of the respondents hold a positive view of the work of militia officers with 41% holding the opinion that the security bodies' efficiency in combatting crime is average and 16% representing the opinion that the militia functionaries' professional involvement and their ways of behavior leave something to be desired.

The people polled list the following among the most serious deficiencies in the militia's work towards public order: too few street patrols, especially at nighttime and in the suburbs, low efficiency in detecting common criminals (thieves, burglars and robbers) and also a soulless, routine approach to the people they are dealing with.

Of those respondents who declared previous contacts with militia officers, 47% described the functionaries' behavior as proper, while 34% say they could have been treated better, although the officers' stand was not contrary to the regulations. As many as 12% of the people polled state that the militia's behavior under the circumstances was plainly unsuitable and open to criticism. Some talk of brutality or even intimidation.

Only 4% of the people think that the MO exhibited no negative features, with a larger group adopting a highly critical approach to the security apparatus. This has two explanations. Firstly, police forces are not particularly popular with the public practically all over the world, although their existence is considered a necessity. Secondly, the poll was taken right after the Torun trial and some of those polled tended to identify the ethical stand of the officers convicted there with the MO in general.

For the same reason, as many as 25% of those polled replied "Yes, very much so" to the question "Does undue use of privileges by the militia (or even individual MO functionaries) pose a considerable threat to the

public?" Only 24% perceive this as a minor problem, while 20% do not hold an opinion on the matter. One person in three says that at their place of residence the militia occasionally and with varied frequency resorted to undue use of its competence.

Replies to the question "How often does the militia meet with public understanding and assistance?" are not a cause of excessive optimism. Only 1% of the respondents think this is the case in 100% of the cases. One in two respondents believes the public's approach depends on the given case, and also on the attitude of the militia functionaries involved. As much as 24% feel ill-disposed to the militia and are not willing to assist it, irrespective of circumstances.

It is also disturbing to note that 19% of the respondents think the militia is poorly educated. One respondent in twenty expresses the opinion that in the militia's eyes, people are divided into equal and more equal.

It seems that the poll results should become the subject of a meticulous examination by the Internal Affairs Ministry and the MO Headquarters. K.K.

CSO: 2020/14

POLAND

OSMANCZYK EXPLAINS ARTICLE IN INDEPENDENT JOURNAL

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 32, 10 Aug 85 p 2

[From Letters to the Editor]

[Text] I was informed yesterday that Radio Free Europe read out what the announcer called "the text of an article entitled 'The Last And The Next Four Years' published by Edmund Osmanczyk in the independent literary journal Obecność on July 28."

I did indeed write this article, a year ago--which can easily be seen from its content--in reply to a questionnaire in Polityka entitled "The Last And The Next Forty [sic] Years." Last autumn, Polityka returned my reply saying it was not going to print it. So I sent my prognosis to Tygodnik Powszechny where it was not printed, either, this time because of the Law on the Control of Publications and Entertainment of July 31, 1981.

I wish to inform you that the text which I wrote a year ago and which is now being propagated by RFE was published in the above mentioned journal completely without my knowledge. This is a serious breach of my copyright and I protest against it. Naturally, I myself could have presented the dramatic appeal I made in the summer of 1984 for extensive dialogue in which each side should display "wisdom, prudence and moderation" to the public from the Sejm rostrum, but during my last two years in the Sejm I had serious problems with my sight and had to undergo two operations. Finally, I inform you that I will not have the chance to do this any more, for the electors of the Opole region, who since 1957 have repeatedly elected me deputy, are for the first time not going to have anyone unaffiliated to a party or a Catholic association on the list of candidates.

Edmund Jan Osmanczyk

CSO: 2020/14

POLAND

PANEL DISCUSSION ON POLITICAL LANGUAGE

Warsaw ODRODZENIE in Polish No 28, 14 Jul 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] Urban: I am harping on this matter only to demonstrate that no realistic policy-making can be based upon the stick or the screw, not even in extreme situations such as the late winter of 1982, when a certain severity of political instruments would have been justifiable.

Now let me reply to what I think is the most crucial charge of all, namely that the authorities' most recent initiative, such as the proposed amendment to the law on higher education or the tougher penalties for some crimes, are indicative of any retreat, as in after 1956 or 1970. In my view, there are indeed some signals of some retreat, but then all historical development proceeds such that after you have made five strides forward, you have to make a little step back.

Bek: The First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee cited in his concluding speech at the 19th Plenum the persuasive argument of one well-known scholar and public figure who in a conversation with the General had said that the proposed amendment to the law on higher education was our defeat.

To which the General replied--and I quote from memory--"this is a defeat for the authorities," "a defeat for hope." This seems to be in tune with what Mr Minister is saying right now.

Urban: Quite. That is a defeat for the authorities, a defeat which derives from a definite disappointment that that particular offer contained in the law on academic self-government, which was passed by the Sejm during the time of martial law, was used by a large proportion of academics against the state's interests. But the state must have some influence on such an important area of public life. I don't want to get entangled in an argument over why any of the recent apparent changes had to be made, I just wonder what all this taken together actually means. I do admit this is all a kind of retreat on what was a bold attempt to move forward. If we want to consider changes in the penal code we may get involved in an argument over what is and what is not democracy. Democracy, if it is to remain viable, should respect pressures from the public, in particular from communities of particular political significance--the working class, the Party, etc. From these corners came unmistakable signals that punishments

should be harsher and dispensed more quickly. The amendment of the law on punishments for some crimes, then, was clearly a move produced by democratic mechanisms.

To return to the general question, I'm not such a pessimist that I should share fears that all this is tantamount to going back on the declared reforms which were set into motion before. The real danger stems not so much from amendments to laws which are now in force but from too much tentativeness in taking advantage of all those legal constructions which have been, and will be, available. I'm sure this is true even of academic autonomy after the proposed amendment has been passed by the Sejm.

The law on people's councils is potentially a great revolution in Poland's internal life. It brings with it a huge reshuffle of prerogatives, including authorization to use national wealth, that is, money, and this is the foundation of all power. Nobody is amending this law. But nobody talks about it, either, probably because people's councils simply lack the necessary spirit to make use of it boldly. Signs of a retreat, then, stem from life itself, from the very complicated social processes rather than from any legislative motions. True enough, I too am concerned--not about retreating in some particular areas, because this amounts to what are indispensable corrections of practical experiences. What concerns me is that there are no new concepts for further reforms, that the legislative motions made today amount to proposals for improving possibilities of implementing Government policies. But nothing at all is being done in order to transform further our official structures.

Bek: Maybe because we have provided a frame but have failed to paint the picture inside, Mr Minister?

Urban: Yes, but devising new laws is something which wouldn't even occur to me at all. In public life, before laws are devised, ideas and tendencies emerge and discussions are waged. But, at present, public life in Poland is stagnating, as far as the provision of new ideas is concerned. True, the frame hasn't been filled yet. But it is also true that we are somewhat at a loss about what should be done next. I, for one, fear we spend all our energy on what are indispensable, yet stopgap, actions.

Kozakiewicz: As I was waiting patiently, my turn to take the floor after representatives of the authorities I began to realize I was in some trouble because I was prepared for a discussion about language, about political language, about the language of politics. But what was discussed here were primarily the political situation, tactics and strategies suitable for the current stage of development and these topics are likely to invite polemics. I disagree with many things said by Minister Urban and Mr Bek.

Going back on reform is a disaster in my view, because whenever it happens it amounts to recapturing the old positions. This is so broad a problem, however, that I don't want to address it at this point. Let me say only that if I'm not addressing it now it doesn't mean I agree with what my predecessors here said. Let me just draw the consequences from this discussion here.

Let me return to what Mr Urban said about oppositionists and why they have failed to turn up at this table. Is it really time for Fr Orszulik to stage such a conference, because then oppositionists would turn up? But Mr Minister, we wouldn't be willing to run to Fr Orszulik's conference. I don't know--maybe you would go in your official capacity, but I wouldn't, above all because I wouldn't be invited.

Grzybczak: Mr Minister, I agree with the professor.

Kozakiewicz: What we face in Poland is a case of split personality of the Polish people. There are two camps of world outlook since a short time ago and we are strengthening them, in fact. I'm not talking about the other side, with its doctrinaire qualms. We too have our qualms. For example, what you, Mr Minister, said about the rationality of the two parallel information systems, an illegal one which is used by the opposition, and a legal one which is used by nonoppositionists, is one consequence of precisely those qualms. I'm not talking of Trybuna Ludu because, in a sense, it is similar to Tygodnik Powszechny, and nobody can seriously expect the latter to publish anticlericalist or atheistic articles. But there are many other journals which are less avowedly pro-Party and which should serve as tribunes for all. That would supply us with a unique chance for undercutting the illegal information system which is unnecessary and undesirable for various reasons.

Garczynski: I dream of a day when on your one hand, on the left, you will have arguments advanced by side B.

Kozakiewicz: The rudimentaries of all propaganda theory are that in an educated society (and Poland has one and a half million people with college level education, apart from six million secondary-school graduates) the only method which can prove effective is that of a confrontation of ideas, of an exchange of arguments "for" and "against." One-sidedness is basically counterproductive. It is also a fundamental weakness of our political language and it is something which prevents us from reaching our addressees--even addressees who are favorably disposed toward us. Another barrier is the appalling language, and I mean this in the literal sense of vocabulary and idiom. It is a prefabricated language with a dozen or so trite, "proven," "safe" cliches which are repeatedly combined to produce new ones. Just listen to the news or commentaries on television. It is all just ghastly. Look at the amount of information in them which actually informs people of nothing at all. Look at the countless commentaries which comment on nothing at all. Even the greatest truth, if it is articulated in that language of repetitious cliches, will convince nobody. But that prefabricated brand of language is a safe one for the journalist who uses it, whereas anything like his own private language is dangerous. For if a reporter utters the same idea, the same view in his own words then he runs a risk of saying something not said by an Party secretary before him, that was nor printed in Trybuna Ludu. Such a reporter would have to say something which is fresh. That is a hazardous thing to do, for who knows just what such a person has in mind? And what are the others going to say?

Bek: I think--if you pardon me for my interruption--this is not the whole story. I wouldn't suspect my colleagues of going to such lengths only to play it safe. Often enough we are simply unable to say anything about a given matter differently.

Kozakiewicz: But Mr Bek, in 1981 you had in your own journal a vivid kind of language, fascinating commentaries, and admirable intellectual duels between different writers.

Bek: In my view, we have this even today.

Kozakiewicz: I apologize, I have no intention to evaluate Trybuna Ludu here. I'm talking of the press in general, about its language. This, then, is one of the weaknesses. A third barrier is that rigid definition of what are areas of silence. I'm not familiar with the mechanisms behind that. I don't think editors alone would make such decisions. Passing some things in silence is also a kind of disinformation, or of stifling the truth. Let me give you an example. My book on young people's attitude during the breakthrough of 1980/81 came out several months ago. I know for sure there were attempts to get reviews of the book published, yet all journals have so far turned down such offers. To date I don't know of even a single review (not even one which would demolish my book), although everybody knows that its topic is among the most important and topical questions we face.

Grzybczak: But Odrodzenie is going to publish a review.

Kozakiewicz: I'll be happy indeed when I see it. I'm talking of my book not in order to advertise it. The book has practically been sold out. I'm mentioning it only by way of example. There were several dozen interferences in the text. I don't mind the fact itself that it was censored, even though nobody showed me any decision by the Censorship Office, but I want to draw your attention to a certain kind of interference in texts which I regard as harmful as it is typical. This kind of interference is applied in cases of some taboo words, for example the militia can't be said to have "clobbered" [palowac] anyone, or the word "Jew" is banned totally. Since in my book I dealt with the breakthroughs of 1968-70 and 1980/81 with the part young people played in them, I couldn't possibly avoid using the word "Jew" in various contexts. Yet whenever this word turned up in the text, it was struck off. I wrote (I'm quoting from memory), for instance, "Quite frequently, people looked for those to blame for the failures, and they found the culprits among intellectuals, or, on other occasions, among the Jews." But the editors noted on the margin, "The word 'Jew' must not be used." So now you will read in the book that "they found the culprits among intellectuals, or, on other occasions, among cyclists." This was recognized as acceptable, even though it amounted to the same (according to the well-known joke about Jews and cyclists), but the taboo word "Jew" was avoided. But look at what is going on now as we are talking here. Polish television is fuming over the Jewish question in connection with the French movie about the Nazi extermination of the Jews [Claude Lanzmann's Shoah]. All of a sudden, television is full of [words about] Jews.

If no such idiotic areas of silence existed, then the Jewish question would emerge quietly from time to time. Then, too, [weekly magazine] Rzeczwistosc would play its number (as it has been doing anyway), but at least there would be a discussion, a possibility of reply, and eventually it would be clear if we are anti-Semitic or not. Incidentally, I don't quite see how there can be anti-Semitism without Jews, a very unique thing which is supposed to exist in Poland alone. This is one more of our political paranoias. Animosity toward a people which (nearly) doesn't exist? Fear of their "perfidious machinations" if they ceased playing the significant part in the power structure that did in the 1950s? That's all really nonsense. But similar nonsense was said in connection with that sudden about-face of the Polish media as concerns France's role in World War II was the Charlemagne French Legion of the SS, Petain and Laval. That was as true as the previous practice of many years to present the Normandie-Niemen French flying squadron which fought on the Soviet side, de Gaulle and the communist macquis of the resistance movement as such symbols. I was flabbergasted to hear on Polish television the expression "the French, a nation of collaborateurs." This is simply unacceptable! This amounts to slander. Somebody must have meanwhile noticed that was too much, so two days later they had Polish TV's correspondent in Paris say, against the backdrop of the Arc de Triomphe, that after all the France of that time was not symbolized by Petain, or the Charlemagne Legion, but General de Gaulle, who of course--etc. But this happened only after two days. Which shows that journalists are guided in committing their commentaries to paper not by their minds or consciences but some strange directives which tell him what should be said at this particular moment and what is taboo at this particular moment, or always.

Bek: Professor, I can assure you that no organ of the authorities delimits any such areas of silence.

Kozakiewicz: Then why did they consistently strike off the Jews in my book? You tell me that.

Urban: Not because of the word "Jew" itself, but because of that very complicated problem of the year 1968, because of the fear that one more box of Pandora's would thereby be opened. A few such boxes have been opened before.

Kozakiewicz: This box is empty. What are sitting in that box are only phantoms. Besides, more important than keeping such boxes shut is not to create such boxes at all.

Bek: Professor, you should consider one thing which I know very well from my experience as editor of a daily journal. If a given topic is raised once or twice, because--let me again underline--there are no areas of silence, then this is construed as a deliberate attempt to raise that definite matter, at least if this is done by official journals such as our Trybuna Ludu. Foreign correspondents often wonder what it means that the given matter was raised once or twice by Trubuna Lud. So we, as we edit our journal, must take account also of this aspect of our work.

Kozakiewicz: That's because the correspondents know, assume or suspect, that any instance of such an emergence of a topic is ordered by this or that directive. And that the authorities are behind that.

Bek: If so, then they are anything but knowledgeable.

Kozakiewicz: Again, I'm not evaluating Trubuna Ludu. I am talking generally of the press, of the radio and of television.

Grzybaczak: But you can also set Odrodzenie apart from what you're saying.

Kozakiewicz: All right, then I'm also excluding Odrodzenia. But this is a matter of fundamental importance in my opinion. I have been talking about the language of politics, and not about political language, that is, about the significance of political moves and gestures.

Now let me say a few words about matters pointed out by Mr Garczynski and Minister Urban in his reply. What is the actual meaning of the law on higher education? What does this mean in the language of politics? Why should such a legislative move be made in the wake of a PZPR Central Committee Plenum that had been convened for the avowed purpose of winning over the intelligentsia, scientists and students, those who will constitute the Polish intelligentsia in the future? And why should all this be done shortly before a general election? At this point the language of politics is absolutely unintelligible for me. What is all this supposed to communicate?

The significance of this fact is a disaster for my hopes for thoroughgoing systematic reforms in Poland. What will be PRON's reputation after it did--not without my own hand in this--stand up against the proposed amendment, and now it turns out that the amendment will be pushed through regardless? That opposition was endorsed by none else than the PRON National Council. A new paranoia emerges. The language of politics becomes unintelligible.

Minister Urban invoked feelings of the public to justify certain legislative initiatives. But the public cherishes also certain other feelings which are not heeded so closely by the authorities. The authorities are willingly responding to those feelings which are conducive toward a restitution of centralism, toward more direct government of public life. Thus, they go in the direction of the proposed amendment to the law on higher education, or in the direction of introducing more severe penalties. Moreover, there is a great deal of demagoguery behind those general feelings. If you consulted different communities of the Polish intelligentsia for their opinions on the labor code now binding in Poland, I can assure you that 80% of what are called opinion-forming groups and the technical intelligentsia would say the first thing to do is to deprive workers of free Saturdays, because this is ruining Poland. But you ask workers for their opinions with the proposed amendment to the law on higher education at the back of your minds. And the workers reply those professors should at long last be taught a lesson because this cannot go on and on. Those professors are as naughty

as the wildest kids. They flaunt their academic privileges. (By the way, let's not exaggerate with those alleged privileges, if you consider how appallingly low their earnings are and in what awful ruin the technical base of Polish colleges is).

In reality, just three of Poland's total number of 80 colleges created difficulties and abused the law on higher education. So now all 80 colleges are punished for those three, admittedly the biggest colleges in Poland. The entire system is being changed. This makes me pessimistic, although I often say I'm an optimist out of necessity, for if we indeed find no way out then the only thing left for us to do is hand ourselves.

Urban: Let me say a few words on the law on higher education. Let me start with a law which is parallel to that on more severe punishments--that on social parasitism. It used to be strongly resisted in its own time. It was also drawn up under strong pressure from the public, and it passed despite the powerful opposition. A compromise was reached, as reservations of those who opposed the proposed bill on social or legislative grounds were taken into account. But then there were also those who cried, "Do that the way you want it, but for goodness' sake do something about those parasites!" The law furnishes potential sanctions against this category of people, but, on the other hand, it has been supplied with numerous built-in fuses against abusing rights of individuals. The authorities thus only made themselves ridiculous in the eyes of those parasites, who carry on the way they used to.

I want to show that compromise solutions aren't always good ones from the standpoint of necessity. The law on higher education basically has the pragmatic purpose of enabling the authorities to regain at least a limited influence on Poland's colleges as far as these latter create science and, even more important, as they educate the young who will be running Poland in the future. Professor Kozakiewicz spoke of three colleges in which major political conflicts broke out. But numerous minor flaws of the mechanism of academic self-rule became apparent in other colleges--including inadequate personnel recruitment procedures, fund allocation, or program design--so that the proposed amendment should be comprehensive rather than a limited regulation permitting only tentative interventions in those sharp political conflicts which seem to have become a specialty of a few colleges.

Professor Kozakiewicz wonders just what kind of political signal it is if somebody wants to amend the law on higher education between a PZPR CC Plenum and the forthcoming general election. We shall see what this will produce from the standpoint of PRON's own interests, because up to now no concrete provisions have even reached the stage of discussion by the Government. Discussions were held before the Government convened to consider this proposed bill. It isn't correct to regard this as political nonsense. It would be really bad if, on the occasion of a PZPR CC Plenum, the purpose of which was allegedly to win over the intelligentsia for some period of time, all conflicting and debatable matters were suspended, an artificial idyll were created, and only after the new Sejm would have convened, the

whole matter would be raised again. The authorities would have been dishonest trying to obscure the contours of their policy lines. What they did was evidence of their political honesty, because they presented their intentions and arguments even at that moment. They also want to clear the field before the election. The authorities want their platform to be a clearcut domain for those interested to see immediately the real-life substance of the general concepts advanced in the authorities' electoral program.

Garczynski: Mr Minister, you were correct in saying there was handful of oppositionists who, as the old idiom goes, slid to what are extremist positions, that those people earn dollars for their endeavors, and that they seek their self-interests. But the overemphasis which is being put on this creates the impression that all oppositionists have dollars in view. I can give even a better argument. Popularity may be even more important than dollars. I know that such a little group of people exists, but I'm sure that most of those who are active in the opposition are idealists who, perhaps, often err but whose intentions are honest, and this must be recognized for what it is. One more point about the debatable bills.

I mentioned them without dwelling on details and only to say why society doesn't trust the authorities. With reference to the law on more severe punishments, it was said here that this law is directed against common criminals, but many people would say this law is directed against others than just thieves, hooligans or corrupt officials.

Urban: You imply I deny any idealism to our extremist adversaries and that I tend to reduce the whole problem to self-interest. Let's go back to the year 1981. Suppose the Solidarity leaders won, Zbigniew Bujak became Prime Minister, and that as a result Party and Government leaders emigrated say to Budapest. Suppose further that in Poland there remain some proponents of that policy line who operate as domestic opposition either under or above ground, depending on how the situation develops. Suppose those people work out of what are largely idealistic motives. However, the logic of events forces them to avail themselves of technical equipment and other help from the Budapest center, which in turn draws its resources from those political forces in the international arena which are interested in bringing about actions as effectively as possible inside Poland. Then, idealism will interlock with pragmatism.

The logic of events is such that motives are difficult to estimate, while people operating out of idealistic motives also rely on foreign funds. Let me assure you that Prime Minister Bujak's propaganda would strongly underline the socialist or communist-motivated domestic opposition's dependence on foreign funds. This is what propaganda suggested was true before the war about the communists and what Western propaganda today suggests is true of the peace movement. Let's then not separate what are idealistic actions from their material background.

Bek: So, a majority of those active in the opposition are idealists. But what are their goals? Objectively, they don't strengthen but weaken Poland. Is it therefore necessary to name openly those with whom they are allied?

Siedlicki: Our discussion is nearing its end. In keeping with our tradition, it has been kept completely spontaneous in nature. We kept to its chief topic only partly, which I don't regard as a disadvantage but, on the contrary, as an advantage.

While the view presented here differed widely, all of us were in agreement at least on one thing, namely that none of you gentlemen here is one-hundred percent satisfied with the effects current policies have. None of you said the language of politics in the Poland of the mid-1980s fulfills ideally all its tasks. On the contrary, all of you, though to a different degree and on different matters, expressed your concern about the effectiveness of our policies, about our ability to reach different social groups in our pluralistic society. Probably, although not all of you said this openly, we all agree that this is a serious problem which needs to be considered and pondered, in particular now that we are about to start the election campaign.

CSO: 2020/14

POLAND

SEJM DEBATE ON AMENDMENTS TO UNION STATUTES

Gabrielski Presents Bill

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jul 85 p 5

[Speech by Deputy of Parliament St. Gabrielski: "Amendment to Trade Union Laws," passages in slantlines printed in boldface in text]

[Text] /In presenting for the consideration by the Esteemed Chamber a draft law on amending the law of 8 October 1982 and certain other laws outlining the competence of trade unions, I would like to stress that this is a piece of legislation of special significance in our political system. Therefore, it is natural that changes in pertinent legislation have drawn considerable social attention, at present as well as in the past. The law on trade unions originated in the program of the 9th PZPR Congress./

The provisions of the trade union law took into account constructive values of the August [1980] agreements. It drew from the rich tradition of the trade union movement and from its experience. Essentially, the law confirmed and safeguarded as a fundamental value the independence of trade unions from management and their autonomy and self-government. The law gave the trade unions extensive rights in their protective activities.

In the initial period of reconstruction of the trade unions, doubts and indecision were apparent among the working people, as well as the questioning of whether the operation of the new trade union structure is effective. This was overcome as trade union activity developed. The process of rebirth of the trade unions advanced through political struggle with the antisocialist opposition which proclaimed their boycott and stated that the attitude of our society towards the new trade unions would be a national referendum of sorts which no one would be able to falsify.

The common sense and discretion expressed in the positive attitude of the majority of working people towards the new trade unions have won out.

In the early 1980s, trade unions, despite the interests of the working people, became a front of a devisive political struggle, whereas now integration of the work forces is advanced through the activity of trade unions. The trade union movement unites members of all former trade union movements without asking "where one comes from." It is an important avenue of national reconciliation. The present trade union structure has all that is necessary for it to be a constructive force geared to represent short- and long-term interests of the working people, to promote progress and developments and to reinforce the socialist state.

/At present, the trade union movement numbers 5.5 million members. Over one half of all those entitled to be trade union members do belong. The working class is the backbone of this organization, as it accounts for about 60 percent of the membership./

This largest representative organization of the working people has its chapters in over 24,000 enterprises. In accordance with the will of its members, supraenterprise structures have been formed. One hundred and thirty-one branch national organizations have been set up, mainly in the form of federations. The OPZZ [National Convention of Trade Unions], a national trade union representative body, has been set up and endowed with legal rights. Its local bodies, WPZZ [Provincial Conventions of Trade Unions] are functioning. Recognition of the need to build up and reinforce the unity of the Polish trade union movement is increasingly common.

/Several regularities can be discerned in the process of reconstruction of the Polish trade union movement. Firstly, it is the striving to base the movement on the most valuable elements of its entire history of avoiding the mistakes of the past. Secondly, it is a strong bond between the trade unions and the working class, with enterprises, resulting from the social process of their rebirth from the bottom up. Thirdly, it is extraordinarily strong sensitivity of the trade union base to internal democracy and self-government. This is accompanied by the concern with preventing the occurrence of bureaucratization in trade union activity. Fourthly it is the growing awareness of the need to balance the protective function with those of participation and indoctrination. The fifth feature is the wide-ranging activity of Polish trade unions in the international trade union movement grouped in the World Federation of Trade Unions and especially comprehensive cooperation with the trade unions of socialist countries. The successful future of the trade union movement hinges on safeguarding and perpetuating these features.

Trade unions are not given special privileges. The trade union movement must earn trust through concrete actions to ensure appropriate housing and working conditions for the work forces. Various initiatives of enterprises and national trade union organizations have pursued this goal in recent years. The principle of partnership participation by the trade union movement in all decision making of essential importance

to the working people is becoming permanent. The trade union movement is increasingly assuming the role of a co-master in its enterprises and in the country, one who does not only demand, but also shoulders at times a share of bitter responsibility. The strategy of a partner's position for the trade unions in the socio-political system of the socialist state is a permanent one. A synthetic description of it was contained in the speech of the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, prime-minister of our government Wojciech Jaruzelski in the parliament on 9 October 1982. I quote: "Trade unions must at the same time be a sensor of tension in the early warning system. In all honesty, it is better to be subjected to control by the working class than wait for errors to accumulate and bring about a conflict situation. The socialist power needs a genuine partner who will openly speak the truth, criticize and even protest, but will assume his share of the burden of responsibility when the situation calls for it./

Development of the trade union movement to date has made it possible to accumulate considerable experience in implementing the law on trade unions in its entirety and its specific provisions. This experience has given rise to an array of requests, primarily by trade union organizations, aimed at amending certain provisions and proposing additions to the law. The basic provisions of the law have achieved the goals set. However, a new stage of development which the trade union movement is now entering put on the agenda the need to review once again the content of the law and to amend it. It should be stressed that the current stage of development of the trade union movement is much more difficult because it is based on reinforcing the confidence and extending authority among the working people, greater creativity and dynamic activities by the trade unions, on being held responsible for the practical discharge of the function of looking after the working people's interests and sharing the responsibility for the development and performance of the economy which will be able to satisfy these interests and expectations.

The draft amendments of the law of 8 October 1982 on the trade unions and certain other laws outlining the rights of trade unions resulted from the work of a commission nominated in March of this year by the chairman of the Council of State. The draft amendments and additions were also reviewed by the Presidium of the Government. Social discussion organized by the OPZZ took place and ended in the formulation of the position of the trade unions contained in the "declaration" of the OPZZ Executive Committee of 29 May 1985.

The draft amendments and additions were thoroughly reviewed by two parliamentary commissions. They have taken into account many opinions, especially those of the Socio-Economic Council and the parliamentary experts.

The council took a positive stance towards the proposed changes, introducing at the same time, its own suggestions. Its position states, among other things, I quote: "...individual provisions have been

prepared within the confines prescribed by the legal system in effect in our country and on the basis of international legal acts ratified by the PRP."

The Socio-Economic Council also recognized that the draft changes, while not accommodating all requests of the trade union movement, take into account a realistic appraisal of the political situation in our country.

/The changes in the law submitted to the Esteemed Parliament on behalf of the Commission for Social Policy, Health Care and Physical Education and the Commission for Legislative issues are based on the following fundamentals:

- preservation of all the rights of trade unions to date as provided for by the text of the law of 8 October 1982;

- expanding the right of trade unions to shape social policy in enterprises and the state including the reinstatement of the rights which the trade unions and their national representation enjoyed earlier;

- legal endorsement of the organizational structures of the movement which came into being through social practice after the law of 8 October 1982 was adopted;

- guaranteed influence of the trade union in the operation of the state agencies and institutions which attend to the needs of working people;

- reinforcement of the legal status and role of enterprise union organizations as the most important and even decisive element in the trade union movement;

- statutory emphasis on the inseparable unity and interdependence of all trade union functions and tasks./

The draft provides for the extension of the influence of trade unions on shaping the labor environment and wages as well as social conditions. Their rights in defending individual worker's rights will be increased. Trade unions will be given more opportunity to have a say in issues of occupational safety and the health of the employees. It is essential that these expanded entitlements refer primarily to the enterprise trade union organization. This will allow the enterprise organizations to have more input into the decisions made by enterprise managers and also express their own opinion on matters falling within the jurisdiction of self-government bodies of the workforce.

The giving of new entitlements to the enterprise trade union organizations, directly to the workers' community, results from the need to reinforce basic elements of the trade union movement which implement the fundamental notion of the law that the authority and position of trade unions among the working people rest on the situation in the enterprises.

Specifically, the following new rights are brought up. Article 30a of the draft law envisages that "laying down the guidelines for the use of the social and housing funds, including the allocation of moneys from this fund for specific purposes requires the consent of the enterprise trade union organization" and that "the provision of employee benefits from these funds by employee managers also requires the consent of the trade union organization." Thus far, trade union organizations had only the right to express their opinion in these matters.

Paragraph 3 of the same article states that "the system of remuneration accepted in the enterprise and related statutes for rewards and bonuses as well as work rules and schedules and vacation plans are established with the consent of the enterprise trade union organization."

The provision of the draft (article 20, paragraph 4) obligating the enterprise manager to review the degree of implementation of employee rights and social activities in the enterprise and draw conclusions from this review together with the trade union organization at least once a year may acquire special practical significance. This is also a new right of the trade union organization, since these reviews can be made at its request. This should foster the rule of law in labor relations and the development of social activity.

/The draft law also provides for an increased trade union role in safeguarding the labor rights of individuals. Specifically, it is intended to accord to trade union organizations the right to appeal to the Supreme Court any legally valid court ruling resulting from a case involving labor and social security law, as well as to submit to the Supreme Court requests for establishing the interpretation of law and court practice in these matters./

Creating conditions for and providing guarantees which make it possible to exert practical influence in the spheres of social life important to labor simultaneously with proclaiming its rights is a characteristic feature of the draft amendments to the law. Since environment on the job, occupational safety and hygiene are exactly such spheres, it was considered feasible to introduce changes in the law on the PIP [State Labor Inspectorate], creating conditions for a genuine input of the trade unions in planning and evaluating the activity and nominating key officials of the PIP.

/Among other things, it is suggested that a provision be introduced stating that the chairman of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Inspection] and trade unions oversee the PIP within the framework set forth by the law as well as transforming the Council of Labor Protection from a counselling into an organ planning and overseeing the operation of the PIP./ This council will become an instrument of trade union influence on the avenues of labor inspection activity in Poland due to the functions and jurisdictions proposed in the law as well as the composition with the guaranteed majority for trade union representatives.

The proposal to entrust the trade unions with participation in supervising the ZUS [Social Security Administration] along the guidelines set forth in other legislative acts is the consequence of the explicit authorization for the trade unions to safeguard the rights and interests of retirees and annuitants contained in article 25a, paragraph 1 of the draft law. A relevant law is now being prepared.

These are new and original arrangements without parallel in the legislation of other countries. The oversight rights of trade unions implemented in cooperation with the state organs do not conflict with the general model of trade unions as an equal partner of the state and economic administration.

/It is essential to create better prerequisites for developing activities in the health care for employees in order to solve more efficiently the tasks of trade unions in this sphere. Therefore, it is suggested that the Esteemed Chamber add to the law article 24a, introducing the principle of cooperation between the trade unions and public, and especially enterprise, health service and entitling the trade unions to operate their own resorts and distribute resort vouchers, including those of state-run resorts. The above addition is all the more important in that it confirms and sanctions the current practice in this field./

The extended rights of trade unions in implementing their protective function in the draft law are accompanied by the expansion of the statutory sphere of activities of the trade unions, especially the assumption by them of partial responsibility for the spiritual development and active recreation of employees after hours. Participation in promoting culture and education, sports and recreation which foster the development of personality and self-realization by the working people is an essential statutory expansion of opportunities for the trade union movement to represent broadly defined labor interests. The reinforced position of trade unions in safeguarding the interests of working people must entail the increased responsibility of the trade union movement for the results of work. Article 6a addresses these issues.

The right of the trade unions to shape their organizational structures in a self-governing fashion guaranteed by the law provided opportunities for a free choice of arrangements according to the will of trade unions themselves. The trade organizations, established nationwide in the form of federations or unified, as well as the interunion organization OPZZ [National Convention of Trade Unions], have the scope of responsibilities which enterprise organizations have endowed them with. The autonomy of enterprise organizations and the self-government of the entire trade union movement guaranteed by the provisions of the article and the law were expressed in the process of setting up these nationwide organizations.

/An inherent feature of the process of setting up supraenterprise organizations is the fact that they are the creation of trade unions themselves. These organizations were created only by virtue of general guidelines given by the Council of State.

Due to this, it is recommended that the law sanction the principles of creating and organizing trade union movement which have been accepted by this movement in the process of its rebirth./

It is proposed that the regulations stating that one trade union organization operate in each enterprise, remain in force. This facilitates the integration of work forces, serves to reinforce the role of trade unions as defenders of labor rights and makes it impossible for the enemies of socialism to exploit the trade union movement in order to undermine the basic constitutional fundamentals of the People's Poland. Also, due to this it is suggested that the regulation in question remain in force through a period the termination of which will be determined by the Council of State.

It should be noted that these changes have not taken place at the expense of the position and role of workforce self-government. I am dwelling on this issue because of the reservations or doubts of this nature expressed in the stance of some self-governing bodies. The subcommission has considered those thoroughly. Let us answer the question of whether the changes in the trade union law infringe on the powers of the self-governing organs. The affirmative powers of the council are outlined in article 24 of the law on self-government of the workforce, and the proposed changes do not infringe on any of these powers.

/Both the union and the employee council represent the same workforce; therefore, they must cooperate with each other. The law on trade unions introduces the principle of coordinating with the trade unions the matters touched upon by the decision of enterprise organs and affecting the workforce. This is the only correct solution. After all, it is unimaginable that two representatives of the same workforce, the union and the council, would make contradictory decisions in the name of the same workforce. At least, that should not be the case./

Introduction of the principle of coordinating the arrangements and decisions affecting the situation of the workforce, while not infringing on any affirmative powers of the employee council results in the coordination of positions of two representatives of the same workforce leading to the arrangements most beneficial from the standpoint of the interests and concerns of the entire workforce. The practice of improving cooperation of employee self-government with enterprise trade union organizations bears out the above statement.

In making this clarification, I would recall that employee self-government is exactly the institution of intra-enterprise democracy set up by the present Parliament as a result of the political line of the 9th PZPR congress. Self-government is not a temporary creation. This follows from the essence of our political system; the development of self-government is an organic part of it.

Our state faces tremendous tasks resulting not only from complicated domestic conditions and the political climate of the contemporary world, but also from the development of modern civilization which gives birth to new technologies and transforms modern society. In this race against time we must find our own perspectives which are difficult but encouraging. This, however, requires the consolidation of our society, enhanced discipline and organization, courage and innovation. It is imperative to restore the ethos of good work.

I would like to express the conviction that in this race against time, the Polish trade union movement, "for which we are creating increasingly wide spheres of statutory activity" will become a significant promoter of progressive and positive changes.

Today, viewing the prospects for the trade union movement in Poland, we express the conviction that it will gain the broad-based support of the working people, that it will work out a broad and socially accepted program of action, that it will become a developmental force reinforcing the socialist state, rallying the working people around its political foundations, that it will shape high moral standards.

New legal regulations will not automatically solve the problems of the trade union movement. However, they provide good prerequisites for the trade unions to find a solution on their own. The law on trade unions with the amendments presented today creates conditions for further development of the trade union movement in Poland, reinforces its role in the sociopolitical and economic system of our state.

/On behalf of the Commission for Social Policy, Health Care and Physical Education and the Commission for Legislative Work, I move to adopt the law on amending the law on the trade unions and certain other laws outlining the rights of trade unions./

#### Statements From Deputies

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jul 85 p 5

[Statements by deputies Stanislaw Baranik on behalf of the PZPR club; Zofia Kalisz on behalf of the ZSL club and Zdzislawa Sudyka on behalf of the SD club]

[Text] [Statement by Stanislaw Baranik]

/Deputy Stanislaw Baranik (Krakow) was the first to take the floor in the discussion of this item on the agenda. On behalf of the club of PZPR deputies, he expressed support for amending the law on trade unions and other legal acts associated with their operation.

He stated that the draft amendments show that the parliament reviews and revises ad hoc the current legislation adjusting it to the changing conditions; he also stated that trade unions, the most numerous organization of the working people, have achieved an essential degree of organization and development.

The 5 years since the social accords were signed and almost 3 years of the law on trade unions in effect are time periods long enough for pertinent appraisals and generalizations. The reborn trade union movement has become a class movement with a strong commitment to the constitutional political foundations of the socialist state. The overwhelming majority of union aktiv have come out in favor of the federative principle in branch organizations. Of the latter, 131 have been registered; 17,000 out of 24,000 existed enterprise organizations belong to branch organizations.

The workers need trade unions; they were the ones to rebuild the unions and determine their organizational and statutory responsibilities. Through the strong bond with the working class, the drawing every day from its intelligence, the trade union movement wants to represent its interests responsibly, in accordance with the needs and opportunities and in the name of the rich tradition of the Polish trade union movement which goes back 100 years. While recognizing completely that efficient representation and defense of the interests of labor is the primary duty of the trade unions, it should also be recognized that it is possible and necessary to increase their responsibility for the results of work and for enhancing the national income.

The speaker stressed that the PZPR has been and is in favor of creating a strong unified trade union movement. In carrying out its leading role, the PZPR will implement its policy towards the trade unions by recognizing and safeguarding their independence from the state and economic administration. Likewise, there is no relationship based on superiority or inferiority between party organizations and echelons and the trade unions.

Supporting the changes introduced by the amendment, the deputy pointed out that they do not infringe on any of the trade union rights and privileges currently in effect but rather enhance them. Likewise, the changes do not infringe on the rights and position of other workers' representative bodies in the enterprise, e.g. workforce self-government.

[Statement by Zofia Kalisz]

/The deputy stressed that the reborn trade union movement, the character and organizational arrangements of which have been determined by the workers themselves, have become a device for the integration of work-forces. The practice has proved that there is a place for every employee in the new unions, that these are authentic organizations which are defending the interests of the working people with growing efficiency and assuming a share of responsibility for the development of our country. Also, the trade union movement plays an indispensable role in the process of promoting national understanding./

However, there are cases when enterprise managers make decisions without consulting anyone, justifying this by the autonomy of enterprises within the framework of economic reform. It follows from the above that we have not detailed some regulations clearly enough, that there is need for and high time to delineate more precisely the functions of unions, self-government and management in enterprises, pointed out the deputy.

She stated that the ZSL also feels responsible for the food supply of the nation and welcomes enthusiastically the concern of trade unions with the growth of production and improvements in its quality. It would be worthwhile if the unions took interest in the quantity and quality of production for agriculture.

The deputy said that the amended law will significantly widen the field of union activities and will guarantee the decisive influence of the trade unions in many spheres. This, however, should be viewed along with the increase in tasks and the share of responsibility of the trade unions for the socio-economic situation of enterprises and our country. The club of ZSL deputies will vote in favor of adopting the amended law on trade unions, as the deputies are convinced that the amended regulations will enhance the role and position of these organizations.

[Statement by Zdzislawa Sudyka]

/Among other things, the deputy stated that the foundations of statutory existence of the trade unions turned out to be correct. The trade unions have renewed their interest in the sphere of culture, health care, recreation and leisure. Consistent numerical growth caused evolutionary changes in structures. Federations of enterprise trade unions have taken shape, and in 1984 the OPZZ was set up./

The trade unions have become the most comprehensive organization of the working people in the country. In this situation, the framework of old legislation turned out to be too narrow. The necessity of changes was suggested by the inspiration of trade unions. The parliament has accommodated these aspirations. The submitted draft broadens the jurisdiction of trade unions as a representative of the interests of

working people, At the same time, it imposes greater duties on the trade unions: shared responsibility for technical progress, rationalization, inventions, quality and productivity improvement and efficiency of management.

The club of SD deputies recognizes the necessity of changes reinforcing the platform for cooperation between the trade unions and other enterprise elements, management and self-government organs. The club is also in favor of legislation regulating the cooperation of trade unions in the local aspect and in related labor occupations. Providing for an opportunity to sign agreements between the trade unions and state and economic administration will make it possible to specify more precisely the basic tasks of the trade union movement. Similarly, we support the changes bolstering the foundations of independence and self-government of the trade unions and reinforcing trade union oversight of the State Labor Inspectorate, the Fund of Employee Vacations and the ZUS [Social Security Administration]. The stand of the SD deputies' club derives from the resolution of the 13th SD congress, which sees in the existence of trade unions an institutional guarantee of eliminating the causes of many future crises.

#### Floor Debate Supports Amendments

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Jul 85 p 5

[Statement by Deputy Janina Legowska, PZPR, Warsaw]

[Text] During Parliament's current term, trade union issues are under consideration at a plenary session for a second time. This attests to the significant position, role and function of the trade unions in the process of shaping modern political and social structures in our state, stated the deputy./

The deputy said that the draft amendments in the law do not weaken or cancel any regulations setting forth the role, tasks and rights of the trade unions as spokesman for and defender the employee interests. The working people expect that the trade unions will efficiently represent all employees, that they will actively defend the interests of entire workforces against fossilization and bureaucracy.

The deputy stressed that the goals of the socialist state and socialist trade unions are similar. The people's state is the superior benefit of the working people. Entire generations struggled to crush the monopoly of power of the bourgeoisie. The class trade union movement played an important role in this process.

The reborn trade unions have undergone and are undergoing their trial by fire. Many trade union functionaries and also the very idea of independent trade union movement are to this day attacked by our political adversaries. I think that we should praise highly the fully

involved attitude of trade union functionaries and the rank-and-file. Conditions should be created for further development and strengthening of this movement. These conditions are created by the parliament, by political and state authorities. The amended law will also serve this cause.

[Statement by Stanislaw Paca, PZPR Czestochowa]

/The law on the trade unions passed on 8 October 1982 provided an opportunity for complete rebirth of the trade union movement. It provided the legal foundation and gave trade unions considerable powers, stated the deputy./

Trade union organizations act and must act as a co-owner, who cannot restrict himself to the role of petitioner only. They must also act as a body which has a say in solving the social problems of our country. The trade unions are not avoiding taking a stand on various difficult and unpopular decisions. Remarks and opinions of trade union members have been taken into account in many cases of legal regulations introduced by the government, e.g. raising retirement benefits and annuities, aid for families with dependent children and writeoffs to the social and housing funds.

Setting up the OPZZ ended the stage of rebirth of the trade unions. In view of its involvement and activity, the old regulations are too restrictive for the trade union movement. At present, the time has come to enhance the rights of trade unions in view of the trade union structures taking shape, developing their activity and gaining authority.

The amendments increase the scope of trade union activity in issues related to conditions on the job and social affairs. The amendments take into account the most essential requests of enterprise union organizations. The rights involving the establishment of individual employee rights, occupational safety and employee health, development of culture and education and the organization of recreation are increased.

9761

CSO: 2600/985

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU'S VIEWS ON RELATIONS AMONG STATES

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 25 Jun 85 pp 25-28

[Article by Univ Reader Dr Victor Duculescu: "An Innovating View of the Principles of Current Relations Among States"]

[Text] The Ninth RCP Congress was a historic event in the experience of the party and the entire people, opening the way for Romania's unprecedented advancement on the world scene. By placing Romania's foreign policy on a lasting and principled basis and by closely relating it to the Romanian and all other peoples' aspirations to independence, peace and progress and to the need of just solutions to mankind's great problems and of a climate of collaboration and confidence in Europe and the whole world, President and Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu laid the foundations for a foreign policy strategy that has raised the nation's prestige to new levels and made the Romanian people's message of peace more and more widely known.

The strength, wisdom and vitality of Romanian foreign policy throughout the 20 years since the Ninth Party Congress made Romanian diplomacy one of the most esteemed for its innovating content, its realistic and flexible qualities, and its principled originality. In a world torn by many contradictions and conflicts and by a bitter confrontation between the policy of independence, detente and peace and the policy of force and dictation, domination and oppression, and reallotment of the spheres of influence, the message of Romania's foreign policy unequivocally demonstrates that relations among countries and peoples must be based now more than ever upon the principles of international law, and that there can be no deviation from those principles if we wish equitable relations of close cooperation, peace, friendship and confidence among all nations to predominate in the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the point at the Ninth Party Congress that relations among states must be based squarely upon the fundamental principles of international behavior and that solution of the major problems of the period urgently requires observance of those principles and their equal and consistent application by all states without distinction. As the party general secretary said in his Report to the Congress, "Romania's international policy is permanently based on the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equality of rights,

noninterference in internal affairs and mutual benefit. Romania militates for consistent promotion of those principles on the international scene, considering their observance essential to development of collaboration among states, consolidation of confidence among peoples, and observance of every people's inalienable right to self-determination." (1)

#### International Legality As an Improvement in Relations Among States

In socialist Romania's conception, masterfully developed in Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical works and practical activity, international legality is a qualitatively higher state of relations among states that obligates all states to respect the principles of national sovereignty and independence, equality of rights and mutual benefit, noninterference in other states' internal affairs, and prohibition of use or threat of force. These obligations, coded in international documents, can guarantee the peoples' right to live in peace, to develop in freedom and independence, to choose the social and political system they wish, and to participate in discussion and solution of the major international problems on an equal footing. The principles of relations among states accordingly function as essential values upon which the international order is based and whose practical application directly contributes to all nations' independence and their full and completely committed participation in the solution of those problems. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "These principles are to contemporary society and to co-operative relations in the world what water and air are to man's existence. How could we give up water and air? It would mean giving up life. No, we cannot give up these principles because they are indispensable to our freedom and independence and to those of all nations of the world." (2)

The fundamental principles of relations among states are true levers for the innovating changes that are being made and will be made in an immediate and long-range historical period. By basing their relations on observance of these principles, by abolishing force in all its forms, and by resolving any conflicts or differences peacefully the states of the world will be able to establish a new climate of cooperation and confidence that will secure the inalienable rights of each of them in a system of international relations based upon consideration of the diversity of interests in the world today and upon the urgent need of defense of peace and free and equal collaboration among all peoples.

In the last 20 years Romania has continually reaffirmed the necessity of stronger enforcement of the principles of international law as a major requirement for the guarantee of international security and peace and of advantageous and mutually acceptable collaboration among all states. Under Nicolae Ceausescu's direct guidance and instructions, Romanian diplomacy has undertaken many international actions inspired by the need of respecting and firmly promoting the new principles of relations among states. As we know, Romania proposed a European treaty and an international treaty outlawing force and threat of force in relations among states, an important document on peaceful settlement of international disputes that was approved by the United Nations, and the idea of preparation and adoption by the United Nations of an International Code of Conduct defining the states' international rights and obligations. The documents signed by Romania contain important references to the need of observing the new principles of relations among states, both in the signatory states' bilateral relations and on a broader scale in the relations of all countries and peoples of the world with

each other. Note also that the international documents signed by Romania add important developments of this kind to the text of the UN Charter, auguring a new outlook, suited to the facts and requirements of the contemporary world, on the international principles of the states' conduct seen as standards of mutual behavior that must be constantly enriched by experience but also guaranteed, in order to secure their observance and avoid the actions resorting to force that disrupt the international climate and obstruct the complete fulfillment of the peoples' aspirations to peace and collaboration.

While the apologists of the policy of force and dictation are trying to prove that national sovereignty should give way to some forms of supernational organization, it is to the great credit of the RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu that they emphatically and wisely pointed out that the idea of sovereignty is by no means an outmoded concept in today's world but, on the contrary, it is the cornerstone of the entire system of relations being established among states.

The presence of a growing number of independent states on the world scene, the peoples' aspirations to play an active part in solving contemporary problems, and their rejection of the old practices that relegated them to the role of mere pawns in world relations fully proves that the eternal value of sovereignty, so well explained by Nicolae Ceausescu is still a fundamental element upon which relations among all states are based. The president of socialist Romania has repeatedly demonstrated that sovereignty is single, indivisible and equal for all peoples, and that there can be no deviation of any kind from this great commandment of international relations. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that "Under all circumstances we must proceed from the fact that the principle of sovereignty is the same for all states and universally valid regardless of their size or social order, that it is conceivable in one sense alone, and that in no case can it be applied or interpreted differently from one state to another." (3)

In the years since the Ninth Party Congress the RCP has brilliantly brought out not only the universal value of sovereignty but also the necessity of supplementing political independence with a real economic independence within an international system that will permanently abolish any neocolonial measures and practices and any attempts to impair any countries' national independence by methods of the policy of force and interference in the states' internal affairs. For example, the essentially neocolonial practice of oppressive loans and excessive interest rates that impair sovereignty is well known. Nicolae Ceausescu rightly pointed out that noninterference in other countries' internal affairs applies alike both to the principles that govern the states' policies and to the practices of international bodies, when we was criticizing the attempts of some of the latter to extend loans dependent upon unacceptable political clauses of a kind to injure their sovereignty and independence.

The vital problems of the present period are cessation of the armaments race, the start of disarmament, especially nuclear, and defense of the supreme right of men and peoples to life, peace and a free and worthy existence. The RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu, a brilliant and tireless militant for the cause of international collaboration and peace, believe peace and disarmament heavily depend upon abstention from use or threat of force and peaceful, negotiated settlement of all international problems with strict observance of the new principle of relations among states.

Socialist Romania has repeatedly appealed to the states in conflict to heed the voice of reason and find mutually acceptable formulas to put a stop to the losses of human life and destruction of property. In an effort to stop the scourge of military confrontations and to eliminate any hotbeds of discord and conflict, Romania has also suggested formation of a special body for good offices and settlement of disputes among states by negotiation in order to prevent aggravation of the conflicts and help to settle them before it is too late and military action is taken.

In his theoretical works Nicolae Ceausescu demonstrated the new characteristics peaceful coexistence is acquiring in the present period, proving by scientific arguments that in our times coexistence must involve the relations of a great many sovereign and independent states and that there can be no coexistence between blocs or opposing military groups, but only among sovereign states that mutually respect their national independence and promote new relations among each other that are based on the principles of international law. As Nicolae Ceausescu said at the 13th RCP Congress, "Relations among all states must be based on the fact that there are groups of countries in the world with different social systems and that there will be for a long time to come. Therefore we must proceed from the necessity of peaceful coexistence among the states with different social systems and invariably respect every people's right to independence, free development, and choice of the social system that they wish." (4)

As we know, the problems of security in Europe have an important place in the theoretical works and practical activity of Romania's president, who has distinguished himself as an active promoter of new relations in Europe and the world and of elimination of tensions as well as rockets and any nuclear weapons on the continent, recommending conversion of Europe to a continent of peace where the peoples can fully benefit by a climate of confidence and collaboration. The Romanian party and state leader's view of a united Europe beyond the differences in social systems is based squarely on the idea of observance of the principles of international law by all states. And the contribution is well known that Romania made to the improvement of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, a document in which those principles have an important place. In the party's and state's view, if the military blocs and the states of tension and distrust on the continent are to be overcome, it is urgently necessary to promote new relations of confidence and cooperation among all countries, to abandon the use or threat of force, and to resolve all problems involving differences of opinion among states by negotiations alone.

#### For a True International Democracy

In the Romanian political procedure in international relations, brilliantly embodied in Nicolae Ceausescu's works and activity, vital importance is attached to true democratization of relations among states.

Romania feels democratization of international relations must be a process on many levels, including both political and economic relations among states and guaranteeing all peoples access to the benefits of science and technology and all countries active and equal participation in the world exchange of material and cultural values and in the international dialogue. Democratization is a qualitative change in international relations permitting a lasting solution of

the world's problems, rapprochement among peoples, and solution of the problems of urgent importance to all mankind with the direct participation and contribution of all states regardless of their size, economic or military strength, or political-social systems. This view of international relations, consistently promoted by the Romanian party and state, takes account of the huge potential of the new sovereign states, the developing states, and the small and medium countries, unjustly barred in the past from taking up and discussing world problems. In his speech at the National Youth Forum Nicolae Ceausescu said, "In the course of the conversations I have been having with various politicians and chiefs of state I was often and recently more and more insistently asked whether it is possible for the small and medium and other nations to do anything to stop the armaments race. I replied and I wish to reply here too that it is! The small, medium and all nations can do much and can play a decisive part in putting an end to the nuclear armaments race. I replied, and I repeat here too, that the European countries upon whose territory nuclear rockets have been installed have a great responsibility and a critical role. If they will say "No" to nuclear weapons and demand their immediate withdrawal, Europe will be free of nuclear weapons." (5)

In analyzing current world events in depth, Nicolae Ceausescu demonstrated that in fact an irreversible shift in the international balance of power and consequently in the world balance is now taking place, and it requires recognition of the emergence of new centers of power (the small and medium, developing and unaligned countries) as well as consistent application of the principles of equality and mutual respect to the relations of all states of the world.

To be sure a substantial change in the international system does not involve underrating the role of the great powers, which have major responsibilities for ensuring world peace and security. But their role is to be understood in relation to the great changes in the world and the necessity of respect for all peoples' sovereign rights and of all nations' equal participation in devising viable measures for cooperation on the basis of equity, sovereignty and mutual benefit. Therefore Romania believes international democracy is incompatible with actions of force and the attempts of some countries to gain more prerogatives in international affairs.

Observance of the new principles of relations among states categorically requires elimination of any impairments of other states' sovereign rights or dignity, as well as promotion of a new international attitude and a new approach to the problems concerning all states, with the definite understanding that the great and small countries will cooperate actively, loyally, and solely on the basis of full equality of rights, mutual respect and consistent application of the principles of equality and sovereignty of the peoples. As Nicolae Ceausescu said, "No one, nor any state however large it may be, can assume the right to dictate what another state must or must not do. The policy of force and dictation must be entirely abolished. Every people's right to choose the course of socioeconomic development that it wishes must be invariably respected." (6)

In the foreign policy strategy developed by the RCP it is urgently necessary under the new conditions for every country, large or small, to take direct responsibility for solving international problems and play an active part with full rights in the discovery of solutions serving its national interests as well as

those of all the peoples. That idea, of crucial importance to constructive treatment of international problems, recurs in the many proposals Romania has advanced in the last 20 years.

The need for all states' equal participation with full rights in discussion and solution of problems that directly concern them is forcefully expressed in the view of the RCP and its general secretary on peace, disarmament, unification of all countries' efforts to eliminate the danger of war, and the obligations of the member countries of the two military alliances, NATO and the Warsaw Pact, not to wait passively but to make every effort toward the success of the Soviet-American negotiations at Geneva, so that they will produce lasting and effective results for disarmament. As the party general secretary said in his Report to the 13th RCP Congress, "Since the medium-range rockets primarily concern the European countries, the continental states and especially those in NATO and the Warsaw Pact must play an adequate part in the negotiations for an agreement to eliminate nuclear weapons from Europe. When the European peoples' existence is threatened, the continental countries cannot be mere spectators awaiting the outcome of the negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. They must assume their appropriate responsibility for the protection of the peoples and Europe from a nuclear catastrophe." (7)

The conception of the RCP and Nicolae Ceausescu of democratization of international relations is also expressed in the long-range view of the international economic problems. As we know, Romania has unequivocally pointed out the need of restructuring international economic relations, of developing measures for international collaboration that will take account of the principles of international law, and of all states' equal and fully committed participation in the improvement and implementation of those measures.

From the high forum of the 13th RCP Congress Nicolae Ceausescu made a stirring appeal for the start of global negotiations between the developed and developing countries concerning all problems of socioeconomic development, which would result in programs and measures leading to elimination of underdevelopment and the wide gaps now separating the rich and poor countries. More than once the general secretary has made appeals for democratization of the economic and financial mechanisms, asking the international financial bodies to abandon the policy of imposing economic and political conditions on the developing countries.

International democracy is intended to play an essential part in the long-range view of the new world economic order that Nicolae Ceausescu is promoting, since no structural change in international economic relations is possible without consistent application of the principles of equality, equity and mutual benefit or without guaranteeing the developing countries extensive access to modern technologies.

Proceeding consistently from the necessity of real democratization of international relations, Romania emphatically favors constant adjustment of the structures and mechanisms of collaboration to the new demands of the contemporary world, as well as recognition of all states' right to equal and unrestricted participation in the decision-making process in the United Nations. Romania is working consistently to further the role of the United Nations and other international bodies in the democratic solution, according to international law, of all the world's

problems with the participation of all states of the world. This requires improvement in the activities of the United Nations and the other international bodies, their greater democratization, and more intensive participation of all states in their activities regardless of size or social system.

The concept of the new international economic order, an invaluable contribution of Nicolae Ceausescu's thought to the historical approach to international relations, is a brilliant expression of the idea that the future international order must be based permanently on observance of the new principles of relations and must establish equality and equity as supreme standards of the international system. As the president of socialist Romania said, "Construction of a new economic order also requires a new political order and new standards of international justice that will institute such higher principles as respect for nations', peoples' and men's right to self-determination and to organize their affairs according to their own aspirations. Such a concept of international law can open the way to productive collaboration among all peoples in all activities." (8)

In Romania's view full assertion of the new principles of relations among states requires a consistent effort to eliminate the policy of force from international affairs, as well as all manifestations of the policy of domination, the practice of spheres of influence, and the attempts upon the peoples' sovereignty and independence. In masterfully developing the idea that relations among states must necessarily be based on international law, Nicolae Ceausescu brought out the need of a consistent effort of the peoples to overcome the old traditions, to introduce the new in international relations, and to promote a true spirit of justice in international relations.

In formulating the idea of all countries' observance of the principles of international law and the need of enforcing them in relations among countries and peoples, the RCP and the state kept pointing out the importance of a committed political attitude on the part of all progressive forces in the whole world and all states in order to make those principles, which are often violated today, permanently triumph in a world of peace. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "It could be said that these principles are beginning to be applied in many fields and that where action is taken on this basis the results are also good. But we must say that much remains to be done before international relations will be based on these principles and all states in the world will participate with equal rights in solving the problems. For that all small and medium countries and the other states ... must strengthen their collaboration and solidarity and act with more determination in both the United Nations and other international bodies in order to help solve all the problems in the interest of peace and collaboration." (9)

It is Romania's firm conviction that the great problems of this period, that is to say peace and disarmament, a climate of security and confidence in Europe, solution of the world's economic problems, and negotiated settlement of the conflicts, are quite soluble if observance of the principles of international law will become the rule and not the exception and if all peoples will take a constructive and fully committed attitude in order to establish them permanently in international affairs.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "The Ninth RCP Congress," Political Publishing House [PPH], Bucharest 1965, pp 101-102.
2. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 5, PPH, Bucharest 1971, p 919.
3. Ibid., Vol 12, PPH, Bucharest 1976, pp 301-302.
4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 13th RCP Congress," PPH, Bucharest 1984, p 83.
5. SCINTEIA, No 13291, 17 May 1985.
6. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the National RCP Conference of 16-18 December 1982," PPH, Bucharest 1982, p 64.
7. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 13th RCP Congress," PPH, Bucharest 1984, p 75.
8. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romania on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 11, PPH, Bucharest 1975, p 739.
9. SCINTEIA, No 13225, 1 March 1985.

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ROMANIA

NEED TO ASSERT REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 25 Jun 85 pp 21-24

[Article by Univ Reader Dr Viorel Popescu: "Building the New Order and Promoting the Revolutionary Spirit"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "We must always remember that the revolutionary process and the revolutionary struggle are not over but are continuing under the new historical conditions. It is the RCP's great responsibility to foster the entire people's militant revolutionary spirit, to lead Romania under the new historical conditions, and to secure the triumph of communism in Romania!"

There are events in the peoples' histories that mark the beginnings of periods of great progress in all fields, have very lasting effects, and influence the peoples' socioeconomic, political, cultural and ideological development for a long time to come. For the Romanian people the Ninth RCP Congress was such an event, and by virtue of its innovations and its profoundly creative approach to the theoretical and practical problems of socialist construction it constitutes a landmark in the history of the party and the nation. It inaugurated the most glorious period in the history of the Romanian people's work and struggle, a period inseparable from the bold thinking and tireless revolutionary activity of Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, and a period characterized by memorable achievements and by incomparably frequent and profound qualitative changes in all socioeconomic activities.

The great achievements of this period brought Romania up to new levels of progress and civilization. Once an underdeveloped country with a backward industry and agriculture, Romania has now become an industrial-agrarian country with a strong and modern industry and an advanced socialist agriculture in full progress. In the last 20 years the party general secretary has inspired a veritable offensive of improvements in socioeconomic, political and cultural relations and institutions, and there has been an unprecedented effort to rid society of all that becomes obsolete and obstructs development and to introduce the new on a wide scale in all fields. A very comprehensive and efficient democratic system has been created that secures the workers' real, regular and active participation, regardless of nationality, in the management of society and of all social-political, economic and cultural activity. Romanian socialist society has

become more and more a society of the highest democracy, of the broadest human rights and revolutionary humanism, and of the people's purposeful and responsible participation in self-determination. Great progress has been made in scientific and cultural development and in formation and development of the workers' socialist awareness.

By its qualitative changes and by its strong vitality this brilliant period demonstrates that the revolutionary process in Romania is far from finished. The Ninth Party Congress was a crucial point in the continuity of that process, to which it opened up new and better prospects of historical development and advancement. In this respect, the great goals set by the 13th Party Congress and the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism place Romania's development in a new and brilliant light. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the recent Youth Forum, "All this is a continuation of the process, which has not ceased, on a higher level... We still have a long way to go, and we shall have to travel many more untrodden paths to the high peaks of communist civilization."

### Continuity of the Revolutionary Process

It is better understood in the light of the historic Ninth RCP Congress and of the far-reaching effects of consistent promotion of the radically innovating spirit of its guidelines upon Romania's development that in the purposeful and incomparably complex undertaking of socialist and communist construction the practical, constantly innovating procedure must always be accompanied by extensive creative efforts toward theoretical constructs that can bring out the characteristics of the new objective social dialectics. Of course this process requires revisions, emendations and restructuring of the content of some older theories and concepts on the basis of generalization of new historical experience, or redefinition of the contexts wherein some of them remain valid.

Accordingly the theoretical reconsiderations faced the view that social revolutions are qualitative leaps of relatively short duration preceded by lengthy periods of evolution characterized in general by a predominance of quantitative accumulations. In this view, revolution alternates with evolution in the historical process, each of them being a distinct and well-defined segment of social development. It was once believed that this pattern would be borne out by the process of building the new order.

It is to the credit of the RCP and its secretary general that they realized the need of reconsidering the historical revolution-evolution pattern and reviewed the very concept of socialist revolution in a new light. Nicolae Ceausescu emphatically stressed the fact that in socialist and communist construction the revolution penetrates evolution, so that the whole undertaking acquires the character of a process marked by constant revolutionary and very extensive qualitative changes. This puts a new face on the historical revolution-evolution relationship, since the revolution is not just a stage in the construction of the new order (the stage of acquiring political power and placing the economy and other fields of activity on a socialist basis) as it was long regarded but, as a means of social development, it characterizes the whole constantly innovating process of socialist and communist construction. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, "In general, the revolution as the

process of revolutionary social reform is not over once political power has been acquired. Acquisition of political power is a very important factor, but it is only one stage in the struggle for the ideals of social justice and equity and for the victory of socialism and communism. The revolutionary process will go on in communist society too, and it will never actually be finished."

Actually, social experience has demonstrated that the social-political relations and structures originally instituted by the victory of socialism are not fully and finally established or immutable. The complexity and continuity of construction of the new order necessitates continuing intensive development of the productive forces, through assimilation of the latest advances of the scientific and technical revolution, and constant improvement of social and production relations as well as all social-political and cultural-ideological activity on that basis. In criticizing the complacent tendencies that have sometimes appeared in the course of socialist construction and in exposing their harmful consequences, Nicolae Ceausescu said that construction of the new order is a lengthy and highly complicated process not without its difficulties and with certain inherent contradictions such as the conflict between the new and the old, and they necessarily require a constant creative effort, a militant spirit and revolutionary determination in all activities.

All these considerations are objective grounds for the theory of the continuity of the revolutionary process, which is of profound theoretical and practical significance and has become part of the legacy of Romanian social-political and philosophical thought. That very profound and unquestionably original theory developed by the party general secretary provides for a very comprehensive political strategy that clearly anticipates Romania's communist future. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Youth Forum, "We must not for a moment forget that the process of revolutionary world reform is not over. We have gone through ... various stages of revolutionary reform! We have a long road of work and struggle ahead of us under the new conditions, upon which we are proceeding from another basis of Romanian society. It is a road of work and struggle that requires revolutionary spirit, dedication, and an unfailing determination to serve the people and the cause of the party and of socialism and communism in Romania!"

In this view the present stage of Romania's development, scientifically defined by the documents of the 13th Party Congress, takes the form of a revolutionary undertaking par excellence, characterized by radical qualitative innovations in all components of the social system so that by the year 2000 Romania will be a fully developed country in regard not only to industry, agriculture, science, education and culture but also to the whole nation's higher material and cultural living standard, all of which will make it possible to start meeting the requirements of communist society in Romania.

#### Coordination of the Objective and Subjective

Like any social process, the revolutionary process of socialist and communist construction closely combines material and cultural, objective and subjective, and general and particular aspects and features in its very content. This necessitates increasingly intensive promotion of the militant revolutionary spirit throughout Romanian society. Historical experience tells us that the qualitative

changes in various sectors of society to a great extent depend upon the levels of people's comprehension, knowledge and awareness. This is especially apparent in the case of a process that is purposeful by definition. Therefore in the RCP's strategy for continuity of the revolutionary process coordination of the objective and subjective is considered an essential indispensable to successful construction of the new order.

Accordingly formation of an increasingly high socialist awareness is a matter of critical importance to the revolutionary process, and the latter's progress heavily depends upon further development of the communists' and all workers' revolutionary spirit. Romania's great progress in the years since the August 1944 Revolution and especially in the period following the Ninth Party Congress, thanks to the revolutionary struggle and labor of the working class and the people\*, is a huge factor for stimulating socialist education and for formation and development of the workers' revolutionary spirit as a major motive force for the nation's all-around progress.

The party's treatment of the relationship between the objective and subjective indicates that the revolutionary process is inconceivable without maintenance and increasingly intensive development of the revolutionary character of the party as the vital center of Romania's whole social system. The party's glorious history of ceaseless and dedicated struggle in the interests of the working class and the Romanian people has proved that the strength and power of the RCP its historically adequate performance of its role as a leading political force for building the new order, and its constant cultivation and development of the values of socialist awareness have been and are inseparable from maintenance and reinforcement of its revolutionary character. It was from this viewpoint that Nicolae Ceausescu formulated the requirement at the 13th Party Congress to make every effort "so that the RCP will always be a revolutionary party stimulating all development and sustaining the Romanian people's patriotic and militant revolutionary spirit!" This appeal calls for further improvement of the communists' political-ideological standards, consolidation of the political, organizational and ideological unity of the party, and more and more intensive promotion of the revolutionary spirit in the activity of the party organs and organizations and in the work and life of all communists and workers.

The revolutionary process, which is all-inclusive by its very nature, is chiefly characterized by its continuity, which of course does not exclude certain discontinuities which are inherent, however, in the evolution of one and the same order, namely the socialist and communist order. The present and future procedure in Romania is not to "demolish" the old order, which was done long ago in Romania. It is the task of building and improving the socialist order, a process that is on the rise and progressing through distinct stages wherein particular aims and tasks are accomplished in order to advance the new order and its principles and values more and more effectively. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, it may be said that with the ratification of the documents of the 13th Party Congress "We are entering a new stage of the revolution, one of further change in Romania and development of the revolutionary process, and a higher phase that secures Romania's steady advance toward the golden dream of the classless communist society."

The rise of the revolutionary process and the qualitative changes in social existence to new heights is naturally reflected in the people's socialist

\*Under the party's leadership.

awareness and revolutionary spirit. Ideologically speaking, the revolutionary spirit transcends the entire social awareness and intellectuality of socialist society, thanks to intensive political-educational work and to its origin and nature as an inalienable psychological component based on mastery of the party's revolutionary conception, dialectical and historical materialism and scientific socialism, and enters into the field of reform intensively. Consequently no attempt to characterize it as a distinct "form" of socialist awareness or to "localize" it in any particular area of the latter is or can be scientifically substantiated. Actually the revolutionary spirit is a major way in which socialist awareness exists and manifests itself in its entirety and functions as an awareness of practical action and of the effort toward progress and constant innovations in all activities. Essentially this is reflected in a number of main characteristics of the workers' socialist awareness, such as active and militant dedication to socialism and to the values and principles of the new order, with purposeful and responsible commitment to the people's collective effort under party leadership to bring the socialist nation up to new and higher levels of progress and civilization; militance against all that is negative and a firm and determined opposition to the old, in order to overcome any difficulties arising in the course of socialist construction; the spirit of criticism and self-criticism; progressive thinking, an innovating spirit, and a constant effort to promote the new in all activities.

The communist revolutionary spirit has always meant total dedication to the socialist ideal, a deep-seated belief in its correctness, and boundless confidence in the triumph of socialism and communism. But it would be a mistake to consider dedication to the socialist ideal revolutionary only during the struggle to do away with the bourgeois system. Actually total dedication to socialism, as an order under construction requiring understanding of its constantly improvable nature and the need of active participation in building it, is indicative of a higher level of the communist revolutionary spirit.

Actually it is a new situation. Whereas in the past, in the period of struggle for political power, the object was to eliminate an anachronistic, historically outmoded society, today the revolutionary effort is made from positions of total commitment to a construction task and of boundless dedication to the new society, the socialist society, subject to constant qualitative innovations in order assert its principles and values more and more effectively. Consequently the revolutionary spirit is a basic constant of socialist awareness and of the new social-historical practice, essentially determined by the attitude toward the entirety of socialist values, loyalty to them, and assumption of responsibility to protect and enrich them.

#### Revolutionary Spirit As a Basic Value of Socialist Awareness

To be a revolutionary under the present conditions means to learn and consistently apply the party's scientific and patriotic policy of continuing the revolutionary process, to work responsibly and selflessly for the best performance of the tasks flowing from the party's decisions, to produce the planned outputs at ever higher parameters of quality and efficiency, to meet the requirements for the new quality in all activities, and to behave according to the revolutionary principles of socialist ethics and justice under all circumstances.

The revolutionaries are by definition people who dedicate themselves to the common noble cause of their people's happiness and prosperity, so that receptiveness to the collective interests of the working class and the people and acceptance of the general interests of the Romanian socialist order as their own interests are basic features of the revolutionary spirit. This receptiveness is chiefly indicated by the communists' and workers' purposeful and responsible commitment as active participants in national social-political affairs within the structures of Romania's socialist revolutionary democracy and of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration.

Socialist construction is a task requiring good organization and strict observance of the laws and standards in effect, since its success and effectiveness heavily depend upon them. Accordingly the revolutionary spirit is incompatible with any disregard of the law, disorganization or lawless impulses and is closely correlated with the spirit of order, legality and discipline in any activity and human behavior.

The revolutionary spirit functions in inseparable unity with experience and practice and, against the background of active dedication to the new order, its values, and the eternal values of humanity, it calls for an active attitude of firm opposition to backward ideas and attitudes and of hostility to the old and all that impairs the more effective advance of socialism. The term "old" covers a wide range of phenomena that may occur in any social activity and have the common characteristic of some incompatibility with social progress and the needs of man's full development. The revolutionary spirit is opposed to all that is old in the above sense whether it is in practice and the objective social structures or in attitudes, awareness and behavior. The way all communists and workers must think and act as purposeful builders of the new order must be characterized by the spirit of criticism and self-criticism and a bold, aggressive attitude toward all that conflicts with the principles and values of socialist society and the complete fulfillment of the individual and toward any defects or shortcomings. As the party general secretary pointed out, in the cultural-educational effort to form the new man and especially the young generation, we must firmly oppose all that is old and outmoded and resolutely promote the new.

Since the old does not leave the scene of social or individual activity until it is defeated, the revolutionary spirit takes the form of a militant spirit, making reform an assiduous revolutionary battle. This revolutionary process or battle is constant and will go on in new forms and with particular contents from one stage of the new order's construction to the next. As the RCP general secretary pointed out, "Not only is the process of revolutionary struggle not over, but on the contrary it has taken on new dimensions." Accordingly in the RCP's view the idea of continuity of the revolutionary process involves the idea of permanence of the revolutionary struggle, and that means that to be a revolutionary means to remain under all circumstances a staunch and determined fighter who is not afraid of difficulties or discouraged by them however great they may be.

Increasingly intensive promotion of the revolutionary spirit requires constant renovation of the courses of action followed. Actually the methods of fighting the old are not and do not always remain the same if only for the simple reason that the old that is to be defeated does not always have the same determinations. Failing to understand this and remaining a prisoner of the methods used in

a particular stage of the revolutionary struggle may have bad effects. The new man motivated by the revolutionary spirit must know how to devise his combat methods according to the particular conditions of his activity. In fact, the revolutionary position is characterized not by the radical nature of its methods but by their efficiency and their adjustment to the revolutionary aims.

Of course the revolutionary spirit would lose in significance if it were confined to combatting the old. In the case of revolutionary activity elimination of the old actually serves to prepare the way for a vast undertaking of economic, social, cultural and human construction, since opposition to the old is closely combined with revolutionary creativeness and is in fact inseparable from it. In the present stage especially, the revolutionary must be a builder and a creator and tireless promoter of the new in social practice. The revolutionary effort is gaining in the quality of its creativeness and social construction while the revolutionary spirit gains in constant receptiveness to the new and creative potential. Promotion of the new is inseparable from aggressive opposition to the old and part of the effort to further consolidate and develop the nation and the socialist and communist order.

In the present stage promotion of the new, for which Romanian society has favorable conditions and a favorable political-ideological and moral climate, is the main characteristic of the revolutionary process and consequently that of the revolutionary spirit as well. As the party general secretary pointed out, "Only he who is constantly seeking the new and desirous of promoting the new in science, in culture, in work, in agriculture, in electronics, in politics and in other fields as well can be a true revolutionary."

The revolutionary passion for the new, fostered by a high sense of social-political responsibility for the future of socialist construction and the nation and accompanied by determination to overcome any obstacles that may arise, must be perseveringly cultivated in the process of socialist indoctrination of youth and the entire people. The party general secretary pointed out in his speech at the Youth Forum that the UTC [Union of Communist Youth] and the other revolutionary youth organizations must redouble their efforts to indoctrinate the young generation in the glorious revolutionary traditions of struggle and labor so that they will perform their tasks consistently and enthusiastically in all activities and devote all their strength and their youthful enthusiasm to the RCP Program, to improvement of the national standard of civilization, and to consolidation of Romania's independence. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "Let us see that all youth and the young generation of today can say tomorrow that they have acted in the spirit of struggle and sacrifice, in the revolutionary spirit of their ancestors and the party, at all times and that they have done their duty to the fatherland."

Of course if the desire of every communist and every member of society to innovate and go on innovating in his activity is to be effective, it must be accompanied by a sound occupational, technical-scientific, ideological and cultural training. In such a far-reaching construction task as the present one, lags in that respect lead to inefficient performance of the activity and to insubordinate and bureaucratic tendencies. Accordingly the communists and workers are trained as specialists and revolutionaries in an inseparable unity, since the revolutionary spirit and specialized training are interdependent and interacting aspects of the personality characteristic of socialist society. For this

purpose the innovating revolutionary spirit must function more and more forcefully in the whole activity and behavior of the communists and all members of society, especially in their occupations, taking the form of performance of production tasks with increasingly good results and accomplishment of the aims of intensive socioeconomic development, the new agrarian revolution etc. This requires an unremitting effort on the part of every worker toward his own professional training and constant improvement of his professional, technical-scientific and cultural knowledge. Moreover the present development of the professions and trades and the changing modern production processes necessitate multiqualification, or every worker's competence in several trades. In a world characterized by the most radical and impressive scientific-technical revolution in history, only the revolutionary who makes a constant effort to assimilate new disciplines can remain in a profession or industrial activity.

In the RCP's view the communist revolutionary spirit is essentially humanistic, as indicated primarily by its influence upon the practical effort to make it possible to bring people's quality of life and living standard up to ever higher levels. It is accordingly emerging as a motive force for socialist humanism.

The humanistic qualities of the militant revolutionary spirit are also to be seen in their effects upon the educational process. In the RCP's theory and practice revolutionary education not only does not make people one-sided, as certain adversaries and disparagers of socialism try to present the situation, but on the contrary it encourages them to fulfill and outdo themselves constantly, sharpens their awareness and creates receptiveness in that direction. The revolutionary spirit does not advance at the expense or sacrifice of other good qualities but in full agreement with them and with the values of socialist civilization and culture and of contemporary science, developing with and on the basis of their assimilation and profoundly influencing their humanistic structure and purpose. Accordingly the revolutionary spirit is a decisive factor for all-around fulfillment of the personality, improvement of the human condition, and formation of the new man as a fully knowledgeable builder of socialism and communism.

5186

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ROMANIA

STRATEGY OF BUILDING MULTILATERALLY DEVELOPED SOCIETY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 12, 25 Jun 85 pp 5-8

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Aurelian Cosmatchi: "Strategy for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu said, "The 13th Party Congress marks the beginning of the third stage of the RCP Program. The major aim of the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan is to firmly continue the policy of building the fully developed socialist society and of Romania's advance toward communism."

Socialism is an economically, politically and socially dynamic system in a state of constant improvement and development. Romania's experience as well as that of other socialist countries shows that the victory of the new order (characterized by generalization of socialist relations throughout the economy, overthrow of the exploiting classes, radical change of the social and class structures, formation of a political system based on broad democracy, and extensive ideological and cultural changes) is only a prerequisite, a vital phase but only an initial one in the continuous process of revolutionary social reform and progress on the path of socialism and communism. From the beginning the founders of scientific socialism stressed the processual nature of assertion of the principles and values of the new order and its historical superiority. In this respect F. Engels saw the new order "as something subject to constant change and progress" and as a kind of social organization wherein "the distribution method nevertheless depends chiefly upon how much is to be distributed, and that depends upon the progress made in social organization and production." (1) V. I. Lenin in his turn, in speaking of the new order's advance toward higher developmental stages, said that "We do not and cannot know by what stages and practical measures mankind will progress toward this higher goal. But it is important for us to realize the falsity of the ordinary bourgeois conception of socialism as something dead, petrified and laid down once and for all, when actually it is only with socialism that true and rapid progress of a real mass character, with the participation of the majority of the population and later of the entire population, will begin in all areas of social and personal experience." (2)

Due to the great diversity of historical, socioeconomic, political, national and other conditions, socialist construction cannot be forced into rigid systems or

patterns, and it entirely excludes the possibility of any one universally valid model providing ready-made answers to the many questions that arise in each and every country. On the contrary, as an active, radically innovating and revolutionary undertaking of our era, the construction, development and further improvement of socialist society necessarily require the permanent presence of active and responsible historical creativeness opening up a broad field and unlimited possibilities for the entire people's participation in purposeful construction of their own future.

Guided by Nicolae Ceausescu's creative thinking, the Ninth Party Congress was a historic occasion of broad revolutionary beginnings in setting and implementing the strategy for Romania's socioeconomic development. The aims, directions and principles of this strategy in the new historical stage took brilliant form in the concept of the fully developed socialist society, which was developed and determined with the RCP general secretary's telling contribution. The correctness and validity of these innovating and consistently revolutionary guidelines have been borne out by experience, by the nation's whole subsequent socioeconomic evolution, and by the Romanian people's great, unprecedented achievements under the party's leadership in all fields in these last 20 years.

The Ninth RCP Congress' ratification of the RCP Program for Construction of the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism was particularly important to the determination of the RCP's conception of the new society's construction. That important program document, based on dialectical-materialist analysis of contemporary historical development, contains a full scientific characterization of the basic principles of the fully developed socialist society and the courses of action to attain that strategic objective and to bring Romania up to higher levels of progress and civilization, and it is a reflection of creative Marxism in Romania.

The documents approved in the period following the Ninth RCP Congress, as well as Nicolae Ceausescu's speeches, reports and addresses to the party congresses and national conferences, Central Committee plenums and other party and state forums, further developed the conception of the fully developed socialist society's construction and enriched it with new views and conclusions based on the actual experience acquired. The far-reaching long-range theoretical and practical policies of the RCP Ideological Program were also highly important in this respect, which program was adopted by the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee in June 1982, approved by the National Party Conference in December 1982, and adopted by the 13th Party Conference as an integral part of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

The 13th Party Congress ushered in a new historical phase of Romania's revolutionary reform, setting the main objectives upon which the efforts of the party and the entire people are to be primarily concentrated in the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan and the next decade up to the year 2000 for purposes of attaining the goals of the third stage of construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. In 1990, when the tasks assigned by the congress are completed, Romania will accordingly enter into a new stage of socioeconomic development and take another step forward on the path of construction of the fully developed socialist society and the advance toward communism, thus providing for accomplishment in general of the aims of the RCP Program.

## Harmonious All-Around Development Essential to Social Progress

In its content and characteristics the concept of the fully developed socialist society is far removed from the narrow, quantitative and one-sided views of the development of the new order. It provides the party, the entire Romanian people, and social-political thought and practice with a broad field for responsible commitment and creative historical innovation. It is a major contribution to the development and creative enrichment of the theory and practice of socialist and communist construction in keeping with the realities in Romania and the demands of the present present period, while promoting productive innovation in contemporary thinking and in the discussions and confrontations of ideas that are going on throughout the world in connection with the major problems of current socioeconomic development.

The concept of the fully developed socialist society is the outcome of in-depth study of the specific conditions for socialist construction in Romania and of assimilation and application of the latest advances of social-political thought and contemporary science, which bring out the nature of society as a well-articulated system and a composite structure with close correlation and constant interaction among its aspects and sectors. This bears out the fact, verified by history, that social progress is primarily the result of interaction of the various social aspects and sectors, and that its acceleration objectively requires harmonious, all-around development of society. This development, wherein economic growth is very closely involved with development of science, education and culture, with improvement of social and production relations, with extension of socialist democracy, and with formation of the new socialist awareness, calls for a comprehensive, dialectical view of the new society's construction and a thorough understanding of that extensive historic undertaking that can throw a clear light on the entire people's creative effort.

In keeping with that understanding, the RCP and its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu revealed the fact that development and consolidation of Romanian socialist society, the full development and maturing of its characteristic features, principles and values, demonstration of its superiority in all respects, and the advance toward communism comprise a whole historical process requiring constant radical revolutionary reforms in all activities. In the course of this process the gradual quantitative gains are necessarily involved with the radical qualitative changes, and those shifts and changes determine and are essential to the further improvement of society and the continuation of the revolutionary process on a new basis. Nicolae Ceausescu said, "In general the revolution and the process of revolutionary social reform are not over as soon as political power is acquired. Acquisition of political power is an important factor, but it is only one stage in the struggle to fulfill the ideals of social justice and equity and to win the victory of socialism and communism. The revolutionary process will continue in communist society too, and it will never actually stop." (3)

The strategy for building the fully developed socialist society meets the requirements for creating a new and higher type of civilization and answers in an appropriate and consistently revolutionary way the far-reaching questions, especially the global ones, presented by contemporary development and the new stage of the scientific-technical revolution. In view of these requirements, the RCP is making concerted efforts toward all-around, harmonious and balanced

development of the new order for purposes of full application of the principles and values of socialism. The major aims of this activity are construction of an advanced economy based on a modern industry and a highly productive agriculture; progress in all economic sectors, all counties and localities, and all social activity; a new quality of work and life; greater labor productivity and economic effectiveness; intensive development of science, education and culture and their further contribution to promotion of technical progress and to greater labor productivity and economic effectiveness; the people's material and cultural betterment; distribution of goods on the socialist principles of equity and justice; improved ownership relations, social and production relations, and planning; further consolidation of socialist democracy; consistent application of workers self-management and economic-financial self-administration; development of the masses' socialist awareness, and promotion of revolutionary humanism.

Romanian society has all the requirements for these radically revolutionary social innovations, such as a strong communist party firmly anchored in the realities of Romania and the contemporary world and very capable of analyzing and anticipating the main trends and processes of social change; realistic long-range programs, based on thorough studies and discussed with the entire people, which effect a productive and lasting consensus between the workers' aspirations and the objective requirements of the advance on the path of socialism and communism; a strong working class successfully performing its historical mission in close alliance with the peasantry, intelligentsia and the other categories of workers; a broad structure, unique of its kind, for promoting socialist democracy, self-management and self-administration and for encouraging initiative and the revolutionary spirit in uniform social management based on the principles of democratic centralism; and the unswerving unity of the workers and the entire people around the party and its general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu.

The fully developed socialist society is a higher and objectively necessary stage of Romania's advance toward communism. Opposed to any reductionist tendencies, the RCP strategy for building the new society in an integrating one, uniformly directing the people's energies toward continuation in depth of the revolutionary reforms in all sectors, accentuation of the intensive factors and qualitative aspects, and a well-proportioned balance, effectiveness and rationality in all socioeconomic development in the course of a purposeful process scientifically and democratically managed by the RCP and implemented with the workers' and the people's participation in management of all socioeconomic sectors and of society as a whole.

In bringing out the implications of the concept of the fully developed socialist society, Nicolae Ceausescu said that the strategic objective of building this society involves all aspects of social activity, namely the material base, socioeconomic management, development of democracy, and the increasingly important roles of science and political-educational and ideological work. As the party general secretary pointed out, "We used the formulation 'fully developed' for the future Romanian society in order to avoid misunderstandings, neglect of any aspect of the activity, and the conclusion that in speaking of the developed socialist society we mean solely or particularly the development of the material base." (4)

While the preceding stage of Romanian society's development chiefly consisted of socialist reorganization of all economic, political and social activity, the

present stage of the revolutionary process is characterized by the development and maturing of the new order on its own socialist base and by the all-around improvement of the new order in the sense of a uniform organism wherein its distinguishing features are supplemented and completed and its historical superiority is to be fully demonstrated. In describing the fully developed socialist society Nicolae Ceausescu said that in that stage the productive forces and all socioeconomic activities are fully, harmoniously and uniformly developed, the productive forces are more and more completely coordinated with social and production relations, the material and cultural conditions are created for full application of the socialist principles of ownership and distribution, the entire people's scientifically determined material and intellectual requirements are met increasingly well, and the principles of socialist ethics and justice are emphatically asserted and blended with those of communism.

The RCP considers construction of the fully developed socialist society inseparable from consistent and constant promotion of the new in all activities, prompt solution of social contradictions, and continuing improvement of society as a whole. Therefore the fact must be constantly borne in mind that the laws of dialectics are very operative in socialism too. Accordingly, as Nicolae Ceausescu says, "We must study and understand the contradictions, note their appearance promptly, and take steps to eliminate them. To that end we must do away with all that is old and outmoded, make way for the new, and make purposeful efforts to renovate society."

It is an important characteristic of the present period that socialism, victorious in all walks of life, is being developed on a strong technical-material base and a socioeconomic structure of its own providing extensive possibilities for the nation's accelerated all-around progress, for a new and higher quality in all activities, for complete application of socialist principles, and for the advance toward communism.

#### Requirements for the Present Stage of the RCP Program

In view of the present stage of the new order's construction, the revolutionary gains made, the action of the objective laws of social development, and a realistic evaluation of the nation's material and human resources, the documents of the 13th RCP Congress define the strategic aims, and the main ways of accomplishing them in the present stage of the RCP Program, in a comprehensive and far-sighted way. In speaking of the major aim and basic tasks of socioeconomic development in the 1986-1990 Five-Year Plan in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, Nicolae Ceausescu said that special emphasis will be placed on developing the productive forces and improving social and production relations on a new basis, with definitely continued revolutionary social reform and accentuated intensive development of all sectors of the national economy through consistent application of the new advances of the technical-scientific revolution. Meanwhile an extensive effort will be made to improve the masses' revolutionary awareness and the entire people's material and cultural conditions as the supreme goal of all party policy.

Of course the critical role in this unprecedented historically creative process is played by intensive development and modernization of the productive forces, which are essential to any society's progress and especially to that of

socialist society. The results of the revolutionary process in Romania have clearly proved that it is only on the basis of intensive development of the productive forces through socialist industrialization and continuing modernization of the economy's productive potential that the developmental stage inherited from the old order can be surpassed and higher levels of material and cultural civilization can be attained. Among the factors for Romanian socialist society's all-around progress, development and modernization of the productive forces are the essentials for development of all the other components of the social complex.

In view of those considerations, the strategy for Romania's economic development in the next five-year plan and thereafter is aimed at modernization of the means of labor and the industrial production structure through mechanization, automation and robotization so that in general the intensive reorganization of all sectors will be completed by 1990, as well as extensive development of the domestic reserves of raw materials, energy and fuels and that of the highly technical sectors and subsectors of industry that make better use of the material and manpower resources; the new agrarian revolution, leading to a modern, intensive and highly productive agriculture; harmonious development of all economic sectors; rational allocation of the productive forces throughout the country; and a greater contribution from scientific research and education to the development of all activities in keeping with the general requirements of Romanian society's material and cultural progress. This will provide for further gains in production of material goods, a considerable improvement in labor productivity, and more pronounced growth of economic effectiveness.

The stage of building the fully developed socialist society has a distinctive economic and social content. As we know, in the previous stage of development Romanian society had to concentrate on the most urgent tasks because of the conditions at the time, placing priority on the quantitative indicators. The quantitative factor is still important to Romania in the present stage too, but a developmental level has now been reached where steady progress primarily depends upon the qualitative results. In view of this very fact, the documents of the 13th RCP Congress point out the inseparable connection between the main trends of social and economic progress in this stage and the continuing shift of emphasis in all activities toward their qualitative aspect. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his Report to the 13th Party Congress, intensive development of all industrial sectors is to be emphasized in the next five-year plan, with a concerted effort to meet the requirements for development and a new quality in the entire people's work and lives.

The aims of intensive growth in the current five-year plan and the following decade heavily depend upon improvement of social labor productivity and the quality and technical levels of the products, and that depends upon efficient use of Romania's entire human, material and scientific potential. Meanwhile the priority on the subsectors making better use of raw materials and materials in the sectorial structure of industry is a first requirement for intensive industrial development, a process planned for completion in the next five-year plan, as well as a requirement for an industry competitive in the world exchange of values. Accordingly the machine building industry and chemistry, including their peak subsectors, will continue to be more intensively developed.

The RCP also attaches great importance to the fullest possible coordination of the productive forces with social and production relations in general,

consistently implementing to that end a series of measures to develop and consolidate social ownership of the production means, to enforce the socialist principles of work and distribution, to improve socioeconomic organization, management and planning, to generalize and strengthen workers self-management in all activities, and to improve the whole series of human relations according to the principles and standards of socialist ethics and justice.

Accordingly the documents of the 13th RCP Congress specially emphasize further development and improvement of the system of workers revolutionary democratic bodies as objective necessities for building the fully developed socialist society and for the advance toward communism. Development of workers revolutionary democracy stimulates and makes increasingly full use of the masses' energies and creative spirit and secures full development of the personality as well as acceleration of all society's progress.

In view of the need of uniform management of all activity on the basis of democratic centralism, the RCP and its secretary general foresaw the necessity of improving and developing the role of the state in uniform and harmonious social management. In fact, society will always have to have its own central bodies to manage socioeconomic activity by applying the social laws, averting discrepancies, resolving contradictions, developing all sectors harmoniously, and constantly raising the people's material and cultural standards.

Construction of the fully developed socialist society objectively requires development of the party's role in uniform direction and management of society, harmonious collaboration of the state organs with the new democratic bodies within the unified system of socialist democracy, more and more effective expression of the Romanian socialist nation's new qualities, consistent application of the Marxist-Leninist policy to the minorities problem, and consequent consolidation of the unity of all workers regardless of nationality. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out on this subject that the active, innovating and revolutionary spirit of the party and of theoretical and ideological work must always be kept alive and that constant efforts must be made to enhance the RCP's leadership to meet the demands of the new stages that society goes through and the requirements of socioeconomic development, science and culture, so that the RCP will always be a revolutionary party stimulating all development and maintaining the people's militant patriotic spirit.

The RCP's role as vital center of Romanian society consists of preparing the political strategy for Romanian society's present and future socioeconomic development and of the practical daily work of every party organ and organization and every communist. Political-educational work, and reform of people's entire way of working, living and thinking according to the values and principles of socialism, revolutionary humanism and the scientific conception of the world and life, are particularly important in this connection. In stressing the importance of formation of the new man in the whole process of building fully developed socialism, Nicolae Ceausescu said that proper implementation of the 13th RCP Congress' decisions and increasingly intensive development of the party's role as a leading political force of the whole nation call for improved political-educational and ideological work. As the party general secretary said on this subject, "We tried to emphasize the unity of the material base and the effort to develop the productive forces with scientific, theoretical and ideological

work. It is only by viewing all aspects of the people's and party's material and cultural activities in complete unity that we shall function as revolutionaries and true communists and properly solve all the problems of our steady progress toward the golden dream of communism."

Political-educational work, primarily reflected in the improved indoctrination and awareness of the masses, in the way tasks are performed, and in the enthusiasm and sense of responsibility with which the workers are producing society's material and cultural values and implementing the party's and state's domestic and foreign policies, has now become an essential factor for uniting the people's efforts in the task of building the new society and an effective aid to economic development and improvement of social relations and the forms of social management. In the light of the RCP Ideological Program, the 13th RCP Congress pointed out that in the next period political-educational work must be brought up to the level of the great progress made in socialist construction by making it more and more of a powerful force for mobilizing and stimulating the people's creative energies in building the fully developed socialist society.

The decisions approved by the 13th RCP Congress are intended for consistent implementation of the RCP Program, further improvement of the people's material and cultural welfare, and Romania's steady advance toward communism. The Directives of the 13th RCP Congress point out that by the end of this century Romania will be a fully developed socialist country as regards its industry, agriculture, education, science and culture as well as its general standard of living and civilization, and that the necessary material conditions will accordingly be created for the start of increasingly widespread application of the communist principles of distribution, working and living to all activities in Romanian society. That prospect is inspiring the entire people in their socioeconomic effort to carry out the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the aims of the transition to a new stage of the RCP Program for Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society and for Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. K. Marx, F. Engels, "Selected Works in Two Volumes," Vol II, Political Publishing House [PPH], Bucharest 1967, 3rd ed, p 458.
2. V. I. Lenin, "Complete Works," Vol 33, PPH, Bucharest 1964, p 99.
3. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Report to the 13th RCP Congress," PPH, Bucharest 1984, pp 65-66.
4. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Romanian on the Path of Building the Fully Developed Socialist Society," Vol 24, PPH, Bucharest 1983, p 62.
5. Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Expanded Plenum of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1982," PPH, Bucharest p 56.

5186

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YUGOSLAVIA

BELGRADE PROFESSOR DISCUSSES NATIONALISM, KOSOVO

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 85 pp 8-12

[Interview with Dr Kosta Mihailovic, emeritus professor of economics at Belgrade University, by Dragan Tanasic: "Nationalism Cannot Stand the Truth"; date and place not specified]

[Text] It is the last hour, if it is not already too late, for politics to turn once again to economic development as the most important task. Over the last 20 years we have been regulating social relations and have in this way regulated them so well, especially those interethnic relations, that we are all but gouging one another's eyes out. I am seized by fear when I compare what the world is concerned with to what we are concerned with. Whereas the advanced countries, which would have more grounds and right to await the future more calmly, are obsessed with concern about where they are going and where they will get to and whether they will keep pace with technical progress, we carry on endless discussions of secondary matters and invent various pieces of nonsense in the style of the foreign exchange system so as to appropriate the largest possible portion of income, which, incidentally, has not been increasing for 4 years now. Just think only of the empty rhetoric in those discussions, the words which make no sense and have no meaning, speeches in which nothing is said. If indeed good resolutions are adopted, the resources and measures are rarely found, nor are there enough capable people to carry out those resolutions.

These are the words of Kosta Mihailovic, emeritus professor in the School of Economics at Belgrade University, corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences, and for many years director of the Economics Institute in Belgrade and the 1963 winner of the "7th of July Prize" for four studies on Serbia's long-range economic development which he did with a group of collaborators. In addition to numerous articles and studies published in Yugoslavia and abroad, Professor Mihailovic has also written the following books: "Nerazvijena podrucja Jugoslavije" [Yugoslavia's Underdeveloped Regions], "Regionalni razvoj socijalistickih zemalja" [The Regional Development of the Socialist Countries], "Rasprave o razvoju jugoslovenske privrede" [Discussions of the Development of the Yugoslav Economy] and "Ekonomska stvarnost Jugoslavije" [Yugoslavia's Economic Reality].

It can be confidently said of the last book that it is among the kind written by the times. That is, the acute economic crisis has imposed the requirement on researchers that they offer the fullest possible answers to many questions so that they might be of help in finding appropriate solutions. Professor Mihailovic's book provides a lesson concerning difficult economic experience and many errors in theory. The book takes no malicious satisfaction in the theoretical and practical solutions which have failed, as Milos Macura, member of the academy, noted in the gathering to promote the book, but at many points it offers solutions and ways out of the crisis the Yugoslav economy has fallen into. Rarely has the event to promote a professional book been attended by 18 competent Yugoslav economic experts, and rarely has the praise been so unanimous. It is also rare for a book of this kind to appear in such a short time in what is its third (supplemented) edition.

[Question] Yugoslavia has been in a deep crisis for 5 years now. In the meantime the Long-Range Program ... has been adopted in which economic thought was paid considerably more respect than previously. However, whenever an evident and easy to prove rationality comes into conflict with irrationality and some political interest, and more or less all of them have gained legitimacy over the last 12 years, sooner or later it gives in to those interests. The so-called national economies are in fact that kind of irrationality. But up to this very day it has not been stated who is actually the spiritual creator of the national economies.

[Answer] It is certainly surprising that the national economies have gained the right of citizenship within a country, and that a socialist country. In terms of economics it is paradoxical that a country which is counting on the advantages of the entire economy would opt for an economy which tends toward the splintering of the whole of the economy, toward destruction of the unity of the market, toward a closing and rounding off of parts of the economy, all of which results in economic irrationality and low efficiency. In ideological terms it is still more paradoxical for a socialist country, which is based on the working class as a social force operating toward development and integration, to accept national economies regarded as the ideology of nationalism in bourgeois economic theory. Attempts to reconcile the class aspect and the ethnic aspect within the framework of this concept end up in confused and contradictory explanations. It is certain, however, that with the adoption of the national economies the ethnic aspect has been gaining decisive superiority, and many economic irrationalities are being suffered and justified in its name. National economies are nothing other than a form of separatism.

[Question] Haven't the national economies been simply derived from the federalization of the party? And since the republics and provinces are in the "honeymoon" of their political independence, they will not renounce it gladly or easily.

[Answer] The advocates of the national economies are not so naive as to accept a theoretical and ideologically compromised concept and expose themselves to harsh criticism unless there is great trouble. That trouble should be sought in the need to furnish ideological support to the federalization of the economy and to consolidate the domination of politics over the economy. This

type of federalization began in economic development back in the fifties. Each republic built its own power plants on its own soil regardless of the specific cost price per kilowatt-hour. Capital formation in the sixties was regionalized in the republics and provinces, and then the federalization of the party occurred in the late sixties. Even the large economic-and-technical systems did not withstand the pressure toward disintegration. One reason why all this should be borne in mind is that there are some who believe that the federalization of the economy was carried out only in the mid-seventies. The most recent period is only the final act in the lengthy process of federalization, which has gone so far that it had to be ideologically justified by the national economies.

The national economies are also doing yeoman's service in consolidating the independence of the republic and provincial politocracies. It has been rightly noted that there are no national economies without leaderism within the nationalities, but it should also be said that there is no leaderism without the national economies. The representatives of leaderism are the principal intermediaries among the republic and provincial economies, as well as within those economies. Who would renounce such a powerful social position and the ideology which preserves and strengthens that position? Accordingly, the national economies need to be seen not only as the ideological wrapper of the process of disintegration, but also as a means of legalizing and strengthening the republic and provincial politocracies.

[Question] On one occasion you have said that we ought to have a much more highly refined sense for detecting separatism in good time, rather than to ascertain it only when those who literally want to break Yugoslavia to pieces come onto the scene.

[Answer] The excesses of separatism in Kosovo were the immediate occasion for what I said. That separatism had to appear in its naked and exposed form on the public scene for people to see its sociopolitical seriousness and danger to the integrity of the entire country. However, even today it has not been cleared up whether they closed their eyes because they knew nothing about the ideas of separatism in Kosovo, which is hard to believe, or they did not dare to speak about it because there would have been a demand to clear up the question of why and for whom the silence had to be maintained.

Federalization, which did not restrict itself solely to the structure of the government, but extended to the economy, to the party, and indeed even to culture, has been a good shelter for separatism--insofar as separatism did not in fact inspire that kind of broad federalization. Let us not forget, the ideology of separatism and of nationalism, once they have taken hold of people, also compel governments to behave consciously or unconsciously in conformity with the requirements of that ideology.

[Question] In the attempts to explain the causes of the political outbreaks in Kosovo, it was said that they occurred because of Kosovo's ever greater economic lag. To what extent is that argument valid?

[Answer] It is surprising how one-sided and superficial are the assessments of the situation in Kosovo. They are uttered without sufficient respect for the historical continuity of violence in that region, and they overlook the exclusiveness of a closed society toward other ethnic groups. The thesis of Kosovo's economic lag as the main cause of the social outbreaks is the best evidence of an inaccurate diagnosis, which seeks the reasons for the troubles exactly where Kosovo has achieved the greatest results, while at the same time it neglects the changes which truly have been small in overcoming the traditional society and in raising the quality of the social environment. In a way the inaccuracy of the assessment is also proven by the slogans, the great majority of which have been along the lines of nationalism and separatism.

[Question] There was the slogan, and it occurs even today: "Trepca is working--Belgrade is getting built...."

[Answer] The important thing for the nationalists is that a slogan achieve its propaganda effect, not that it be true. Those who are taken in by that slogan, and others as well, ought to know the size of the losses which Trepca has had, the source from which those losses were covered, the size of the aid to Kosovo, the extent to which that aid augments the share of investments in Kosovo's social product, which in relative terms is larger than in any other federal unit, and the size of the progress that has been achieved.

[Question] It has been achieved in other regions as well. But to the misfortune of Yugoslavia the inherited differences are so great that they can be put to bad use almost without limit in a voluntaristic politics. Their abuse takes on irrational dimensions and very easily grows into a nationalism of the crudest sort....

[Answer] I agree with you completely. A voluntaristic politics puts all sorts of things out of joint, and usually it passes the blame for its own failures onto others. This is achieved most easily by developing a feeling of subjugation. As soon as that is achieved, national sentiments, which are constructive for any ethnic grouping, are twisted into nationalistic sentiments, into aggression toward the other ethnic groups in the vicinity.... And once nationalism has taken over, then you have said goodbye to the truth forever. Nationalism will "cook" and adapt the data as best suits it on a given occasion. That was the strategy, for instance, in inventing the slogan "Trepca is working--Belgrade is getting built." I repeat, it is clear to any objective observer that that slogan has no real basis in view of the immense financial aid which Kosovo has received from the other parts of Yugoslavia.

This slogan applies least of all to Serbia proper, which, as is well known, is lagging in its economic development, and it is especially inapplicable to Belgrade. Whereas over 20 percent of the national industry is as a rule concentrated in the capitals of Europe, and in some countries even all of 50 percent, only about 70 percent of the value of Yugoslav industrial production is in Belgrade, slightly less than in Zagreb. We should not overlook that it is not capital resources which have put a limit on the growth of Kosovo's economy, but the small ability to absorb that capital in order to make efficient use of it.

[Question] But how then do you explain that until recently there were two diametrically opposed public assessments concerning the development of Kosovo--according to one, it was developing the fastest, while according to the other the slowest?

[Answer] The explanation should be sought in the fact that each of those two assessments is one-sided, each lacking the other. In fact many other analyses have suffered from one-sidedness as well. When it comes to Kosovo, the historical aspect has been especially neglected, but from that standpoint Kosovo's postwar development has been among the fastest in Yugoslavia. Before World War II the differences between Kosovo and Slovenia could be measured in centuries, while now they have been reduced to a few decades.

[Question] In saying that you are probably thinking of structural changes of both the economy and the population.

[Answer] Of course. Before the war more than 80 percent of the population of Kosovo gained its living from agriculture, which today is true of less than 30 percent. Thanks to industrialization the economic structure is essentially altered and greatly enriched. Before the war Trepca accounted for three-fourths of the social product of Kosovo's entire industry, and today nearly all industrial branches are represented there. However, if we say that Kosovo has been included in present-day economic development, then, measured by those criteria, it is lagging behind Yugoslavia as a whole and also behind the other republics. But in my opinion this is also objectively imposed by necessity to a large extent.

[Question] You have mentioned the one-sidedness of analyses. Is it one of the reasons there have been disagreements here because the argument that Kosovo had a lower per capita social product than the other political-administrative communities was mainly used to support the thesis of Kosovo's lag. I would like to ask you: Can overall assessments be based exclusively on that indicator?

[Answer] Certainly not. Economic development is a multidimensional process which cannot be properly indicated with just one indicator. The larger the number of indicators, the more they will supplement and correct one another, offering an increasingly accurate idea of the level of development. The social product, which is based in part on estimates, is not a sufficiently precise indicator. Among its many shortcomings one should mention that it does not indicate the economy's entire potential, but only what has been activated, that it provides no information on the structure of the economy, nor on the division of income. This indicator is subject to fluctuations under the influence of market conditions and altered terms of trade.

[Question] In the last 6 years economics institutes in Yugoslavia have reassessed the criteria and indicators used previously....

[Answer] It would have been better if the institutes had not accepted that thankless task. Everything has been done to discredit scientific institutions, with the intention, that is too transparent, of having the issues resolved by

the balance of political power. No serious research has in fact begun, and all the institutes have been proclaimed advocates of their respective republics and provinces. I do not say that there has been nothing of the kind, but what has happened to the studies, which were objective and which came up to a scientific standard? Why is it that the studies are not binding on anyone? The republic-provincial ideologues have not given science any opportunity whatsoever to realize the original conception of arriving at an objective evaluation of the underdeveloped regions. The stakes are immensely high, and the economic consequences for each federal unit are too great for the politicians to simply wait around and accept the outcome of the research, especially since each of them considers himself a God-given expert in regional development.

Yet I would say that in spite of all the difficulties the research that was done was not in vain. No one any longer disputes the statistical data, the views concerning selection of criteria and indicators have come much closer together, and the ranking of the federal units with respect to development has been established, as well as the distances between them, and these things are beyond dispute for anyone who cares to look at reality. To tell the truth, there is an abundant literature in the world concerning criteria and indicators. It turned out that the key question is not the selection of criteria and indicators, on which much time was spent, but the marginal value, on which serious debate has not even begun.

[Question] It has been officially stated that not a single study has treated that question....

[Answer] Thank you for offering an occasion to publicly refute that falsehood, which is to be found in official documents of the Federal Bureau for Social Planning. It was in fact that institution which a few years ago produced copies of my paper entitled "Selection of the Marginal Value," which along with other papers was put on the agenda of several meetings of the Commission of Social Councils and indeed of the councils themselves, but there was never a public discussion of it....

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Allegedly because someone's intervention led to the internal assessment that the methodology applied did not conform with the constitution. I am aware that we have one of the most extensive constitutions in the world, that it even regulates things which do not exist in other constitutions, but it is truly astonishing if it is supposed to regulate even the methodology for establishing marginal values. But at the same time it doesn't bother anyone for each of the eight federal units, and they are joined by the Federal Bureau for Social Planning as well, to arbitrarily reject the assessments and to bargain about the marginal value without any sort of methodological foundation. This is no longer a case of "what is true in Belgrade is not true in Novi Sad," but of eight truths, what am I to tell you, an authentic Tower of Babylon.

[Question] Can the broader community assume full responsibility for the way in which the underdeveloped regions use the resources obtained from the Federal Fund ...?

[Answer] Not only can it, but it must if it wants to prevent the squandering of the fund's resources. The methods of financing the development of the underdeveloped regions have in the past been greatly compromised. It is an untenable practice for the more advanced regions to set aside resources and to have no jurisdiction or insight into how they are used. After all, in that case those resources, although they were obtained as a mandatory loan, are turned into gifts because of inflation. If they are not used as they should be and with enough efficiency, then the development of the underdeveloped slows down, and this perpetuates the obligation of the more advanced to aid that development. Accordingly, the more advanced regions have an economic interest and every moral right to see how those resources are being spent.

[Question] The present efforts to use those resources as the basis for direct contact between the economies of the more advanced and the underdeveloped probably are a step toward improving the system of financing we have had up to now. But is that enough?

[Answer] I think that that is not a complete solution. The resources of the fund have to be used differently. Above all, there has to be a development bank which will have public responsibility....

[Question] ... Just as there is in fact in the world at large--the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development?

[Answer] Yes, of course.... It would bear coresponsibility for the selection of projects, for the proper placement of those resources and for their return. The reproduction of those resources within the bank would signify that the investments in the underdeveloped regions had been well placed and that a satisfactory efficiency had been achieved. Accordingly, it is also in the interest of the underdeveloped regions to obtain that kind of support and standards of that kind concerning investment projects and conduct of business so as to guarantee the efficiency of their own economies.

[Question] Does the former division into advanced and underdeveloped republics and provinces have its justification even today?

[Answer] With qualifications I think it does. But the entire attention must not remain concentrated on the relations between the advanced and underdeveloped republics, but rather we must at the same time see what has been happening in real terms since the liberation in each of the republics and provinces. If we are to do that, we need to see in good time that the underdeveloped republics are no longer homogeneously underdeveloped regions, but that there is stratification within them: there are advanced and even markedly advanced sections, moderately developed sections, and underdeveloped sections. It is not difficult to establish, and Yugoslavia is no exception at all in this regard, that the principal beneficiaries of aid in the underdeveloped regions have been the capitals and that their inhabitants have been the largest beneficiaries of income and employment, while the interior has been left underdeveloped.

[Question] That phenomenon is also characteristic of the advanced republics. Serbia, for example, is among the advanced republics, but it has more than 50 percent of the underdeveloped opstinas.

[Answer] That extensive underdeveloped region is one form of the general lag of Serbia's economy. In all its principal indicators it is below the Yugoslav average and there is no objective reason whatsoever for it to be classified among the advanced regions together with all the obligations which arise therefrom. But exactly that is happening.... Those underdeveloped opstinas, which have a population of more than 1.5 million, even though their per capita social product is 30 and indeed even 40 percent below the average for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia, are compelled to set money aside for the development of those republics and Kosovo. It is absurd for them to return to the Federal Fund for Development of the Other Underdeveloped Republics and the Province of Kosovo a sizable portion of the aid which they receive from the republic fund for their own development. There are more than 50 such opstinas, as you have said, and if we should continue with this kind of policy, the number would probably even increase. This is precisely the result of the failure to respect the methodology for establishing internal differentiation within the republics and provinces.

[Question] How efficiently have the investments been used in Kosovo as compared to the other republics?

[Answer] I have already said that the initial phase of industrialization requires large investments in the infrastructure, in roads, in the fuel and power industry, in various sources of raw materials, and all of those investments have a high capital coefficient regardless of whether we are talking about Kosovo or some other region. These are referred to as economically unattractive, but inevitable investments, since they create the preconditions necessary to the process of industrialization. That is why the overall efficiency of the funds invested in Kosovo had to be lower than in the other parts of Yugoslavia. But I think that the objective limit, in the case of Kosovo, has been considerably exceeded. Especially over the last 20 years or so it has had opportunities to structure its investments more freely and to make them in activities with a lower capital coefficient, such as the manufacturing and similar branches of industry. However, the responsible people in Kosovo have for a very long time directed their entire investment policy toward the so-called "heavy" structure, and that is one of the principal causes of the lower efficiency of investments.

[Question] Nevertheless, let us leave aside the structure itself and concern ourselves by comparing those same industries in Kosovo and Slovenia; how much lower were the efficiency figures in Kosovo?

[Answer] There is no need to compare them to Slovenia. Take Serbia as an example. Thermal electric power plants in Kosovo last year operated less than 4,000 hours, while thermal electric power plants in Serbia proper exceeded 6,400 hours. Aside from the poorer organization and lower productivity of labor, we should seek the reasons for this in the poorer selection of projects, the long construction time, the slow run-in of capacities once built, and their underutilization.

The low productivity of labor also rounds out the gloomy picture of the state of the economy in Kosovo. In the period between 1952 and 1983 it barely doubled in Kosovo, while in all the other regions except Montenegro it more than tripled. The social product per worker in Kosovo's industry, measured in 1972 prices, was the lowest in Yugoslavia, 30.6 percent lower than the average for the entire country. This lag is all the less economically justified because in 1981 Kosovo held second place in the country with respect to the value of equipment and consumption of electric power per worker in the industrial sector, and it was even in first place with respect to the total number of machines and motors indicated in terms of kilowatt-hours.

[Question] Do you mean to say that the low productivity of Kosovo's economy did not result from inadequate financial resources, but from their inefficient use?

[Answer] But isn't that clear from these figures?

[Question] Tell us, then, please, how much more resources Kosovo received from the Federal Fund and budget subsidies for government and social service consumption than the underdeveloped republics?

[Answer] Not counting the resources of Serbia proper, on a per capita basis those from the permanent resources of the Federal Fund were more than three-fold the resources per capita received by the three underdeveloped republics. And the further Kosovo has lagged in its development, the more the supplemental resources have increased in both absolute and relative terms. Its share in distribution of the resources of the Federal Fund increased 30 percent over the 5-year period 1966-1970, 43.5 percent over the period 1981-1985, and from 27.5 to 40.3 percent in the distribution of supplemental resources for government and social service expenditure. Or take this datum: over the period from 1981 to 1983 the share of resources of the Federal Fund in economic investments in the three underdeveloped republics ranged from 15.3 to 33.6 percent, but in Kosovo the figure was 109 percent, which means that it was not only favored by comparison with the other underdeveloped regions, but also that the funds committed from outside were larger than the domestic funds. The situation has also been similar with respect to use of resources for government and social service expenditure.

[Question] You have said that the overall lag in Kosovo's development resulted from insistence on the so-called "heavy economic structure." Have there been any attempts and suggestions that that structure be changed and that Kosovo turn toward those sectors in which it in fact possesses resources? I am thinking above all of manpower.

[Answer] There certainly have. Back in 1960 the Economics Institute in Belgrade did an extensive study of Kosovo's long-range development. Directions of development were also suggested in that study, it insisted on development of the manufacturing industry, which would have altered the economic structure and which would have had more rapid and larger impacts on income and employment. However, like many others, it did not encounter understanding on the part of the responsible people in that region. Things have continued to be

guided by inertia: investments have continued to be made in large capital investment projects.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] Perhaps I will clarify this in part with this example. In a thermal electric power plant in Kosovo where there were both people from their own planning bureau and the director of the power plant, in addition to certain other economists from the rest of Yugoslavia, I put the same question: Why not invest in other branches of the economy? The answer was approximately this: "We can carry out investments in the electric power industry with our own people and with their knowledge...."

[Question] Again we come up against the duality of our politics: in international relations we advocate the broadest possible collaboration, but we do not respect those same principles in our own country.

[Answer] Right. We have ideas for export and ideas for internal use. We send our exports in the form of technical assistance and as organized professional teams to more than 100 countries in the world. Our enterprises are jointly building large projects in those countries, but we do not apply such methods in Yugoslavia. The impossibility of achieving broader social communication has directly diminished the efficiency of economic activity. The size of a project, its profitability or unprofitability, and the length of its construction time have become less and less important. People could count on new resources coming in and covering the losses, and it was that that continued to make unprofitable investment projects possible. That kind of policy has led to wastefulness on an immense scale. The only way of putting an end to that practice is for all relations to be put on a strictly economic basis. I see no other way than for the credit financing of development to be administered by a specialized bank that would be responsible to society for the commitment of those resources.

[Question] Finally we come to that key thesis concerning Kosovo's lag, the one that is based on the low per capita social product....

[Answer] Measured solely by that indicator, Kosovo has been lagging greatly, which is why the differences relative to the other regions have increased. However, Kosovo owes 87.5 percent of its lag to its higher growth rate of the population, and the other 12.5 percent should be attributed to the other factors. If Kosovo had had the same population growth rate at Yugoslavia, the per capita social product would have held at the level of more than half of the Yugoslav average.

[Question] The attempt to show how the high rate of population growth has influenced the overall results of development has not been taken in good part.... The inclination to large families existed at one time in the other underdeveloped parts of our country as well. As those regions underwent industrialization, that tendency disappeared. Similar processes are obvious even in certain countries of Asia and Africa. In Kosovo, by contrast, that inclination has persisted stubbornly year after year. How do you explain that paradox?

[Answer] Kosovo has done nothing toward family planning, although the 2.4-percent annual rate of population growth is one of the highest in the world. In large part we should look for the reason in the ideological blinders and prejudices. Every attempt to show how the high rate of population growth influences the results of development could be described as pro-Malthusian. This anti-Malthusian complex withstood even the simple, but sufficiently convincing finding that the high rate of population growth in a country with an excessively large farm population, with an immense number of unemployed and with underemployed manpower creates a large number of consumers many of whom will never have the occasion to become producers, so that underdevelopment is perpetuated indefinitely.

[Question] Bearing in mind everything you have said, and taking as our point of departure the role of progressive critical thought in shedding light on the times, in revealing the hidden opportunities for human emancipation, and articulating the goals of society on that basis and putting them on that foundation, certainly it is important, then, which ethical values will be nurtured in order to achieve those long-term goals. Why have we not done this up to this very moment?

[Answer] It is obvious that many important pieces of public business have not been dealt with in our country, partly because there is no very deep awareness of social reality, nor a strategic intelligence that would think through what should be done in order to alter and upgrade that reality. The system of values is experiencing a deep crisis, if it ever did have a firm foundation. A very few individuals are concerned with the question of needs, and they have no great social influence. The present crisis is certainly diverting attention from the goals of the program. The country is convulsing in its debts, the concern is great over making the next annual payment, enterprises are trying to find ways of surviving, and families are looking for ways to make ends meet. Under those conditions horizons are shortened, and long-term goals and ethical values are pushed into the background. However, the process of human emancipation must not wait for better times. It must go forward regardless of the conditions. Only if continuity is achieved will it have prospects for success.

That is why it seems to me justified for the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts to include in its plan research into the goals of social development, which refers among other things to many forms of human emancipation. Without desiring to prejudice the results of that research, it seems to me especially important to start with what is possible, to raise the level of civilization in a society which is no longer agrarian, but which in its human relations, in the way people behave at work and at home, in the attitude toward public property, in the matter of civil self-discipline, in respect for the privacy of others, in the standard of hygiene, and in many other respects has not become urbanized. In this respect an improvement can and must be achieved within the foreseeable future, regardless of present or new difficulties.

[Question] At the end would you please comment on an impression which the public has gotten: certain people have long behaved as though history began with them, while today some individuals act as though it in fact ends with them.

[Answer] It is in the nature of things that in a generation with an essentially different ideology, which had its chance to change the world and attempted to do so, there are people who think that history did in fact begin with them. With a sense of superior power and turned toward the present and future, they have been consciously or unconsciously neglecting and underestimating the past. That accounts for the resistance to the historical knowledge that has been gained and which is changing that idea not only of the past, but also of the present, which was created at one time and which has often been ideologized.

One still greater trouble is that the feeling of that kind of historical superiority, especially when it is accompanied by initial success in economic and social development, engenders self-satisfaction and an incautious radicalism.... A society which is breaking new ground is, to be sure, compelled to experiment to some extent, but it must also be ready to quickly retreat if experience does not confirm the justifiability of those experiments. Experience has shown that this is a great temptation which political voluntarism has not always resisted. Euphoric consumerism, which began in the early fifties and [...] the debt abroad, became stronger all the way up to the end of the seventies and gave sustenance to the philosophy "after me the deluge."

Major failures in development strategy and the economic system, which were the causes of that euphoria, were also accompanied by unsuccessful solutions in the political system. But the greatest trouble lay in the exaggerated confidence concerning the permanence and perfection of those solutions, as though ultimate truth had been found with them. Accordingly, a procedure was institutionalized which impeded quite significant changes to the greatest degree, if it did not in fact make them impossible. It is precisely in that procedure that the conception of certain people that history ends with them was expressed most fully. And such pretensions usually divert social development from the mainstream of historical events. That is not merely a potential danger. The attitude that has prevailed up to now toward the unified Yugoslav market, toward planning, toward large systems, and toward professional intelligence has pushed us into processes which go against history. And nothing worse than that can be imagined....

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PROFESSOR DRAGICEVIC INTERVIEWED ON BUREAUCRATIC POWER

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[Interview with Dr Adolf Dragicevic, professor of political economy at Zagreb University, by Dragan Barjaktarevic: "How To Remove the Bureaucracy"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "It is by no means an accident that bureaucracy is one of humanity's fellow travelers, nor is it any kind of pathological growth which the human community might be able to do without. It is an inevitable product of the world of alienated labor and an important representative of man's alienation from man, which is an essential characteristic of that world," says Dr Adolf Dragicevic, professor of political economy at Zagreb University, undoubtedly our most eminent student and analyst of the phenomenon of bureaucracy. In his opinion, bureaucracy has on two occasions become an independent and dominant social force with the powers and actions that arise out of alienated economic and political power, which it possesses to a decisive degree: the first time at the transition from patriarchal to slave-owning society, in what is referred to as the Asian mode of production, and the second time during the transition from the class society to the classless society.

[Question] We are interested in the latter period of bureaucratic expansion and omnipotence which are characteristic of the 20th century and in which we also now find ourselves in full flower. Professor Dragicevic, how would you classify the Yugoslav bureaucracy as to type?

Dragicevic: Our bureaucracy is divided into three distinct groupings: the political bureaucracy, the government bureaucracy, and the bureaucracy in the economy. Party forums are the leading detachments of the first group, the bodies of the assemblies those of the second, and the professional management and specialized staff services with enterprises represent the third grouping. It is certainly superfluous to mention that alienated centers of party power possess an absolute primacy that is not restricted by law.

[Question] How deep are the roots of this advanced Yugobureaucracy of party and government caliber? What role has been played by bureaucracy in the party and what role does it have now? To what extent are the spirit and practice of bureaucracy today displacing the spirit of the party's revolutionism and vanguard?

Dragicevic: As I have said, a society's bureaucracy, and indeed the leading role of the party in this, represent a normal and progressive phenomenon for a particular period of time. The working class movement prepared itself even in our country for revolutionary action through its own bureaucratization, by singling out from within its own ranks the professional leaders and thinkers of the very small party vanguard which after the revolution would become the bastion of administrative power in all areas and would subordinate all other bureaucratic strata, organizations and actions to itself. At mid-century, when our bureaucracy was operating with that kind of leading edge, world socialism was somewhere at the midpoint of its rise. Its middle level of development prevailed in the world, in its full maturity, with the typical statist development of production. That is in fact where we are now along the main route of world development, and our bureaucracy is performing that historical task through its activity. Accordingly, that kind of bureaucracy in the party and outside it, under its leadership and sponsorship, is an imperative of the time and represents a progressive climb upward for society. Neither the party nor society, then, should be ashamed of that bureaucracy, it should not be concealed or portrayed in different colors. By comparison with what came before, this has been very progressive and in line with the world trend of development and with activities and results without which it would not have been possible to imagine a further epochal revolution in the mode of production and in relations among the people of our society.

[Question] What are the consequences of the rule of the bureaucracy? What kind of spirit does it generate? Does the bureaucracy eat its own children, i.e., what does it feed on?

Dragicevic: Social classes, castes, estates, strata or simply groups have a certain inherent type of behavior, a certain way of operating which comes out of the way they are organized and out of the nature of their functions. They also differ in that respect, and thanks to those particular features they perform certain tasks required of them at a certain level of development of humanity. When they perform those tasks, they leave the scene and depart into the museum of antiquities. They cannot be rescued, nor is there any force that can keep them alive.

That is also the way one should look upon the activity of the bureaucracy. It is not calibrated for optimum, highly economical and profitable conduct of economic activity. It can only create the favorable conditions which will make that kind of economic activity possible to others if they stand sufficiently on their own feet and are independent of the bureaucracy. When that is not the case, bureaucratic action regularly displays the features of organized wastefulness, but constructive processes can be carried out even in that context, processes which history has intended for the bureaucracy on a national and world scale. It has shown through its deeds during the 20th century, in other countries and also in our own, that it is the only social force which has the power and ability to carry out collectivization and which is creating the physical foundation of the statist mode of production. Our bureaucracy carried out collectivization and industrialization here on Yugoslav soil with results that do it honor. They justify its position and its activity and they cast the various negative concomitants into the shadow. That

task presupposes material and political power without limits. It is so immense, decisive and vitally important to society as to justify a certain spiritual castration, as you have called it, or, put better, uniformity, that is, leveling. And in some way that is bent toward achieving the fundamental task which our bureaucracy has confronted since the war. That is also the purpose of its closed cycle of reproduction--transformation of the bureaucratic elite, the top levels of the vanguard, essentially a fraction, into professional politicians who think up the forms of monopolistic position and rotation within their own ranks. It is reproduced in part from its own ranks and in part from others, including the ranks of workers and peasants. It does eat its own children when they do not maintain internal discipline or aim at goals which at some moment the bureaucracy has held back in a tactical way and later abandoned.

[Question] In the West they often put an equals sign between the terms "socialism" and "bureaucracy." Why? Although bureaucracy is not the child of socialism, it did not invent it, has it brought it to perfection?

Dragicevic: Semantic confusion is a striking characteristic of our time, sometimes even deliberately maintained for certain demagogic and ideological reasons. That is in fact the case here. The 20th century is a century of bureaucracy in all countries and on a world scale. The middle level of socialism's development is markedly distinguished by the rule and activity of the bureaucracy. In the west and east, in the north and south, in the first, second and third worlds, then--not only is bureaucracy the child of socialism, but it is a child which at the middle of development, in the middle of the 20th century, grew into a giant which has taken possession of all society's vital points and is ruling everything.

[Question] Can it be said that Stalin is the father of socialist bureaucracy?

Dragicevic: Stalin and Stalinism are only episodes in that worldwide socialist maturation and development under the leadership and sponsorship of the bureaucracy. Always in history the ruling systems have manifested themselves in differing forms and they have always been accompanied by extreme cases and savage exaggerations. Stalinism, fascism, McCarthyism, Maoism, etc., are precisely those concomitants of the bureaucratization of the world and represent inevitable stages of transition from the class society to the classless society.

[Question] The political bureaucracy in power creates enemies everywhere, pins on labels and delivers ideological slaps in the face left and right. It is paradoxical, but true: bureaucrats who lose an enemy are threatened by a vital danger! As an analyst and critic of bureaucracy, what do you think about that?

Dragicevic: That is quite correct. It is quite certain that bureaucracy which takes power demonstrates a general predisposition, both in our own country and everywhere else, to devote great attention to the search for enemies, or so-called enemies, to pin labels on them very easily and abundantly, to strike them from all sides and to attribute to them ideological errors and

ideological deviations which sometimes, indeed even often, are not justified in the least.

After the war, as I have said, our bureaucracy performed an epochal job in industrializing the country. And then it stopped. It lost its "job" and began to look for food to justify its survival, and not uncommonly that food was to search for enemies.

[Question] It is a fact that politics as a public function is disappearing and is turning into the skill of winning and holding on to political office and official administrative positions. Are these attributes of bureaucracy?

Dragicevic: One of the features of our own bureaucracy is that it monopolizes the official position an individual holds. Our bureaucracy, like every other, is burdened with the drive to associate the position with the person and act as though intelligence is enhanced when it is combined with official office! And vice versa, that when the office is lost, so is the man.

Our self-management, as you see, has not been successful for 30 years. This is still, if we are to tell it like it is, a self-management of the administration in which all other strata of the community participate. That is what it is, and at this point we do not know in precisely what direction to develop it, we have a general inflation of promises that self-management should be developed, but no one alive knows what ought to be discarded from it, what innovations ought to be made in it, what within it should be developed as the primary thing, and so on; it has been reduced to general expressions, general definitions, which in actuality guarantee the dominance of the administration. The delegate system has not been successful, and everyone is saying more or less that it is actually a copy of what we had before, it may even be a system which allows for greater manipulation, since all relation has been lost between the ultimate voter and the elected representative.

[Question] You speak as though self-management has no chance in our country.

Dragicevic: It will never be possible to achieve self-management with the present political organization of society. It is politically organized precisely for bureaucratic rule both in our own country and in the world. Society is organized according to the principles of connections between assemblies from opstina communities to the top of society. This is the form of political organization which was created after the Chartist movement, in the middle of the last century. That form of the political organization of society has actually served the bureaucracy; it was the preparation for its worldwide enthronement, it has helped the bureaucracy of other countries, including our own, to use that pattern of society's political organization to achieve its own absolute power, rule from top to bottom, without any sort of obstacles, to perfection. Instead of breaking down that entire mechanism, that system, we want to install self-management into it by means of the delegate system. That has not been successful, it is not possible, since ever and again we see that we have administration from top to bottom. Accordingly, if we want to do something, then we have to demolish the forms of political organization which make it possible for the bureaucracy to rule. If we cannot do away with that,

then that is proof that we are still at the stage of historical development, material and otherwise, at which this form of organization is in fact necessary to us and at which, then, the organization of the bureaucracy and the bureaucrat are necessary.

[Question] Are we at that stage of development?

Dragicevic: We have made only one step in that direction. And that is unfortunately as far as we went. Our bureaucracy has done everything to prevent us from going further. It has in that way led society into a crisis. That is why our crisis is a crisis of the bureaucracy, the crisis of the bureaucracy is a crisis of the party as its leading force, precisely because they have done everything to hamper development, which after all was necessary to conserve its position, power and rule. At the same time they did not make it possible to install in society new institutions, new ways of life, new modes of production and production relations in society (not of goods, but of society as a whole), since precisely that would have led to their replacement and gradual elimination.

[Question] Can you state those arguments more specifically?

Dragicevic: I will give just one example. Our self-management is precisely so structured that it makes it possible for the bureaucracy to obtain absolute control over all the processes of social reproduction through the institutions of self-management, and that is why we are constantly combating this and constantly swearing that we will refrain from it, but it always recurred in the same way or indeed even in an expanded way. What is the reason? This kind of self-management had ample justification in the fifties and sixties. When the conditions became right for us to abandon that kind of self-management, to move on to a new one of higher quality which would suit the modern development of the productive forces as well as the debureaucratization of society, here we have failed to take a step.

[Question] Why? What is involved here?

Dragicevic: Self-management in the fifties and sixties recognized only two management functions: decisionmaking, or what was referred to as decisionmaking, and followup on execution. The latter is secondary, while the former is essential--decisionmaking. Then we set up bodies (workers' councils and others), saying that the direct producers, i.e., blue-collar workers, must represent two-thirds of their members. Given the composition of society and the level of the productive forces at that time, those were the productive forces of the second technological revolution (electricity, the internal combustion engine, and the industry which grew up on that technology), it was justified to put the emphasis on decisionmaking by the working class. However, it was precisely at that time when the world was experiencing what has been referred to as the scientific-technological revolution, in which automation and computerization of production processes were in full swing. Let us not forget that it is said today that 1944 was the date of the robot's birth, that is, the period of time in which we were introducing self-management. At that time the advanced part of the world was abandoning the decisionmaking function as the

principal function, turning it into a secondary function, shifting the emphasis in management on a new function--the function of preparing decisions by scientific means, using computers and experts specialized in various fields. The best solution is arrived at through the preparation of decisions, that is, by gathering data, by sorting the data, by selecting the alternatives and by seeking the best solution, one arrives at that other function, decisionmaking, which becomes a mere formality. And we have completely ignored this main thing.

[Question] Why is it that the bureaucracy is not refraining from that type of rule?

Dragicevic: Because it is afraid for its own skin. Management and decision-making afford the best organizational form for manipulation of bureaucratic superiority in administration at any level. There is no preparation of decisions, that is, everything can be rigged from outside, and the entire system of administration and management is simply turned into manipulation, into a transmission belt reflecting what you want to do, and at the same time the person who has done this is not responsible to anyone. The main question is this: Why doesn't the bureaucracy take up new models? You see, the preparation of decisions is the domain of the experts--it is not only that there is no room here for the workers and routine office personnel, but there is no room for the bureaucracy either. The preparation of decisions eliminates all the party, governmental and other centers of alienated power. This is the domain of the specialists, as I have said. And in the workers' council the decision can be made by anyone: be he literate or illiterate, be he a specialist or layman, be he old or young, be he drunk or sober, be he senile or normal, everyone can raise his hand! That is the key to the problem. The preparation of decisions must be in the hands of the experts. And that eliminates what has so far been the role both of the party committees and the government centers of alienated power and all the rest. Here the party has simply found itself facing the fact that it must by its own example, by retreating from the sphere of self-management, initiate new processes in the development of society. However, it has not done that.

[Question] Do you have the impression that it still does not have the strength to do it?

Dragicevic: The impression is that it does not. Here again is the source of our crisis. If anything ought to be changed in the constitution, then what it says about decisionmaking ought to be changed. In certain historical situations we have been greatly weighed down by an ideological burden of technomanagerialism and we have actually castrated all maturation and effective activity of the technostucture, those specialized people who are the only ones who can carry out the third technological revolution and apply it effectively. There is no one else who can do it. And here we have the roots of our lag in development. We are unable to wrench ourselves free. Of course, we are talking about a new force which is a competitor of the bureaucracy, and that is why the bureaucracy has condemned the technostucture in its entirety as an enemy of socialism. That was the case in our country at one time, just as they had the condemnation of Trotskyism in the USSR.

[Question] By hampering the technostucture the bureaucracy, is that so, has been preventing us from becoming part of the new technological revolutions?

Dragicevic: It has prevented us from experiencing any kind of progress. It has prevented us from becoming part of the richest and largest world market in the history of humanity, which is the market of chips, microprocessors, micro-electronics, and high technology in general. Now we are on the threshold of excluding ourselves from the market for genes as well, which are becoming a worldwide phenomenon. For example, when Thailand became part of this modern market as a producer, in 5 years it became a force which last year brought in a surplus of \$11 billion. The Japanese and Americans are even frightened of it. What I mean to say is that in that context we can quite justifiably speak about our bureaucracy being out-of-date, about its position as the leading force of society which today lacks justification, which has preserved the working class at the level of manual workers and thereby performed what is actually a counterrevolutionary role. It has thereby prevented the emancipation of labor and fulfillment of the revolutionary task as we come to the end of the 20th century. It has put general social progress in mothballs, and, as we see, it is leading not only to the squandering of material goods, investment resources and in general the wealth of society, but it is also working against what is most precious--against the human potential. We have a numerous army of unemployed who are probably better qualified than those who are employed. To conclude, I do not question the earlier historical merits of the bureaucracy of our society, but I do emphasize its outdatedness at the present time, its having outlived its time, and its regressiveness.

[Question] What does it mean to say that our political system is powerless, while certain structures--groups and individuals--are powerful?

Dragicevic: That is precisely the indicator of the altered situation, since after the war we had a powerful political system, and powerless groups and individuals. Now the situation is the other way about, which is obviously an indicator that the political system has outgrown itself, that is, that it has outgrown the conditions in which it was necessary, that the social changes and especially the tasks which society faced in the seventies and especially the eighties have become such that the bureaucracy, which has the dominant role in the political system, cannot perform those tasks, and it has cast off concern for their performance. It has not committed itself to carrying out the third technological revolution, by contrast with that situation long ago after the war, when it was fully committed with all its strength and energy to carrying out the second technological revolution. It carried out that task, all groups and individuals were subordinated to that task. Now a task has come which it is not up to, which it cannot carry out, which it has to turn over to a new social force, and it needs to provide that force the optimum conditions for its activity and the successful performance of that task. However, it has clearly evaded all such obligations, it has retained its positions, and it has allowed groups within itself to wield the power and to come into conflict with one another and to do everything so that they might keep power for themselves eternally.

[Question] You are not the only one who feels that the party has taken over too much power for itself. How dangerous is this? Even Lenin warned that if the Bolsheviks set themselves up as the ruling party the danger would arise that "thieves and careerists would impose themselves" on them.

Dragicevic: I think that in all respects the situation is right for initiating a large-scale social debate concerning the position, structure and future of the party. Berlinguer said in a meeting on the eve of his death that he felt that the Italian party had to seriously reassess its social identity, its social base, since the traditional base the party relied on, that social base of workers and peasants, was disappearing faster and faster; other social structures were coming to maturity, other social groupings becoming dominant. Berlinguer said this, and I quote: "Under the conditions of the modern micro-electronic revolution, it is an anachronism and an utter absurdity to base social progress on the manual worker and the peasant. And it is unnecessary. We lose what is precious. The party has to change according to those new needs." Communist parties have not shown themselves to be flexible in response to the important social changes, they have more or less continued to be after the model, organization, activity and power created after the October Revolution under Lenin's leadership. Now we should give thought to the time that has passed since then, what things have changed in the world, what point has been reached, what new technological substratum has been created, while the party has for all practical purposes remained the same. And it is clear that that pattern of its activity is no longer suitable under those new conditions.

However, it could not be said of our party that it has done too much to divest power from itself. It might now be said that it has too long held on to all the power for itself. As I said, there were great justifications for that after the political revolution, when important tasks were carried out on the basis of that power, under its protection and with its forces. But conditions have matured since those distant years, approximately 10 or 15, and the party has been slow to rid itself of power, to pass power on to other agencies and organizations in society. It has not done that. Accordingly, it is in part also a cause of our crisis and of our immense lag.

[Question] Please, make the case to support that kind of harsh criticism.

Dragicevic: When we stated in the new constitution in 1974 that the League of Communists has a special status in this Yugoslav society, the first step which should have been taken thereafter, in view of the strong power which the party had and which in large part it has been wielding regardless of laws, by the force of its leading position, should have been to adopt a law which precisely set forth the jurisdiction and powers of the bodies of the League of Communists--from the opstina committees to the central committees and their bodies. I think that such a law at that time should have gradually excluded all those bodies from any intervention in the community's economic life, and at the present time that is something we need absolutely.

The power of those bodies is a great weakness of this society of ours and a large source of all these troubles we are having; that is, the failure to

legitimize their right to appoint directors in a particular way, while at the same time they are the decisive factor, which means that they conduct personnel policy, they influence all possible forms of business life, organization and activity, and in actuality they have complete power over business life.... I think, then, that we are now in a situation where that ought to be done as a first order of business. Our bureaucracy, first the political bureaucracy, and that signifies the party bureaucracy, ought to divest itself of power in the economic sector. I know that this will arouse considerable suspicion and will perhaps be appraised as something that is more or less an ideological diversion or some action which has certain counterrevolutionary features....

[Question] I propose, Professor Dragicevic, that you support these bold arguments with stronger proof in order to avoid possible controversies.

Dragicevic: What I mean to say is that the party's activity as the leading force, actually as an informal factor in society, while in actuality it is the dominant factor, which once was very worthwhile and very good, has now become an obstacle to social development. Under the conditions of the third technological revolution, which we are already lagging far behind, if we do not do anything, in 4 or 5 years we will become a colony in the true sense of the word, since the old, conventional and traditional activity of the party has become an impediment to any development. First of all, in its very structure the party tends to make everything that exists stable, and that is precisely the opposite of what is demanded by the third technological revolution. That is, it seeks freedom of initiative, punishment of failure and exceptional rewards for success. In other words, it demands a certain "chaos" in business, and that is a prerequisite for the successful rise of new technologies. The unsuccessful must go to ruin, must go bankrupt, and the successful must accomplish great exploits with very large capital. That is the situation in all communities which have taken that road, and there is no other road!

I will present you some figures: last year about 17,000 enterprises went bankrupt in Germany, and nearly 50,000 new ones were established. In the United States last year, according to the available figures, about 30,000 enterprises went bankrupt, but 600,000 began operation.

The freedom of thought, the freedom of ideas, the hunger for new ideas, those are the characteristics of the modern world. It is precisely that which the party hampers with its conventional mode of operation. Never has a socialist order been threatened by leveling in material production as it is threatened by leveling in the intellectual and ideological sphere. There was justification for that in the period I spoke about before, but today there simply is no justification. I ask you whether there is justification for hampering the freedom of thought, the freedom of ideas, is there justification for preserving everything that exists, for maintaining large work organizations at all costs, for insisting on the formation of complex organizations of associated labor, when the world is going in the direction of breaking up the large giants? All of these are ways and types of activity which are completely opposite to the principal task of the times, and here the party has found itself out of step: 30 years ago it was carrying out the historical task of Yugoslav society, which was in accord with the trend of world development, but at this moment, however, it is outside that trend.

[Question] Not uncommonly we hear the assertion that the party has even become the vehicle of certain mythomanias in our community.

Dragicevic: That is exactly what I am talking about. For example, it is the vehicle of the mythomania that we have large natural resources. However, it is pure madness to build our position in the world economy, in world exports on natural resources. First, we do not have those resources, nor are they ours, nor does this offer a future to anyone. The second mythomania is that we will one day be importing high technology, and let others today discover all this for us, and then one day we will simply import it ready-made, and this is also basically nonsense. The achievements of the first and second technological revolution could be imported, it was possible for the peasants to be turned into industrial workers. However, the third technological revolution is such by its nature that it cannot be imported without developing on one's own soil.

[Question] Yet we have lost the vehicles of that development through the great harrassment of technomanagers that took place at one time. What was that about?

Dragicevic: That harrassment of the technomanagers originated partly from the conscious awareness of the bureaucracy that its sole competitor was the technostructure in an alliance with the workers. The intelligentsia outside production was not dangerous to it, but the technostructure, since it lives and works with the workers, it solves their problems, it is close to them, it leads them, it offers them programs, while the bureaucracy is something like the opposite of that. That is why it opened up a frontal attack on the technostructure and thereby inflicted immense damage, since it deprived us of a precious social resource, it prevented us from looking forward to the end of the century with divisions of elite managers at the service of the self-managers and devoted to self-management and the development of Yugoslavia, who would have introduced us to the world as an equal partner and would have constantly kept us at the level of world achievements.

[Question] The bureaucrat's rationale is this: Others must not know what I know! Why is the bureaucracy afraid of the public? How does the bureaucrat manipulate information?

Dragicevic: It is a general characteristic of all bureaucratic structures and of all bureaucracies that they do not have exactly good ties to the intelligentsia. In the so-called socialist countries the bureaucratic structures, especially the vanguards, maintain those ties which at one time were almost entirely severed. This is one of the reasons why the bureaucracy is afraid of the public--it has on the other side of itself the intelligentsia which it has excluded and which is capable of sparring with it with its own ideas and with criticism of its type of behavior and its type of operation. Accordingly, exclusion of the public is in the nature of that kind of bureaucratic social position and that kind of bureaucratic activity. At the same time the bureaucracy's position relies on a monopoly of information. No information is accessible to the public except what it permits. That is, monopoly is in essence its position and that is why the bureaucracy is one of those historical

social groups which by the nature of their position and activity have been most oriented toward total monopoly--they allow nothing to others, and in particular they are not ready to become involved in any sort of competition with groups outside themselves. That is why every bureaucracy is inclined to censorship, whether it be overt or covert.

7045

CSO: 2800/419

YUGOSLAVIA

RUIN OF VOJVODINA CHURCHES CONTRASTED TO MOVIE FINANCING

Belgrade KNJIZEVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jun 85 p 3

[Open letter by Dinko Davidov: "Pro Memoria"]

[Text] To the officials in the Province of Vojvodina who were consultants on the film "Veliki transport" ["Big Transport"]:

The entire time, from the first talks about this Vojvodina war film, to your "words of praise" uttered enthusiastically to the loyal newsmen of Vojvodina after the premiere, you seem to have been in some Dionysian state. Now you have presumably come to your senses, amazed that this could have happened to you. But the price has been high. It makes one dizzy. Immense resources belonging to the people were squandered.... This is already being classified under the heading of commercial-political-film disasters. And perhaps in certain other categories as well.

Just when I was learning something from the newspapers about this astoundingly large amount, I happened to be concerned with old writings about construction of the first baroque Serbian churches in the Karlovac metropolitan district in about the middle of the 18th century. It only appears to have nothing to do with you. However, there is after all a relevance in some sociological and ethical plane we can imagine. Or it only appears so to me. But I must report that recently I have been seeing various apparitions.

... Just see there, in the middle of the winter night, he is bent over those manuscripts when he hears the door open.... Honorable gentlemen, the elders of the local Serbian Orthodox society, entered briskly in their baroque burgher dress. Then, to my surprise, they began to relate in angry tones how at one time they preserved the money of the people. We wrote dozens of receipts and filled notebooks and expense sheets just concerning the construction of the Serbian church in our town, they said. Every day we noted down the expenditures: for three cartloads of sand, for ferry transport, for carts of lime, for fir beams, for stone, for the wages of masons, carpenters, stonecutters. All of this, they said, we accounted for to the last kreutzer, countersigned by the village judge and town crier, and certified with our own seal. On that seal there are two words, the first name and the last name, and that is the man who stands behind what is written above. We the elders--they went on--render accounts to the people "in the assembly," and not a forint was missing.

And we also oversaw the workmen and made payments only according to the contract, for which we received a receipt. We took better care of the communal property than of our own. And we preserved our honor more carefully than the apple of our own eye....

The documented confirmation of their words remained on the table, all those "receipts" with the seals which I intend to write about so that we might see how things were done and built at one time. And how the Serbs lived at that time, and what stewards they were.

And later I have also been thinking about you. I have the impression that you are not familiar with the class of the Serbian bourgeoisie, that old one, nor indeed even the one that existed until yesterday. It would have been a good thing if you had taken the pains to examine the virtues of your own bourgeoisie as you sought out all its faults. You would even perhaps have found examples to be copied, people who conducted their business properly, honest elders, modest leaders of the people, sound tradesmen, thrifty politicians, people who were builders of the people's culture, democrats, philanthropists, humanists, people who preserve the treasury belonging to the people.

And my subject here will be precisely the treasury belonging to the people in Srem. About its evil destiny. About a cultural defeat. During the last war and in the current peace.

I have long been interested in restoration of the Fruska Gora monasteries which suffered heavy damage from the Ustashi and Germans during the war and from the peasant-worker cooperatives and local people after the war. In lengthy conversations with the architects and art historians we have calculated that it would be possible to restore the monasteries of Fruska Gora with only the amount of dinars spent on your film. There has never been an understanding response for that restoration in the province, and that is why even now some of the monasteries are like empty ruins. But you and your ilk preferred that notorious film to the monuments of culture. You withheld the money belonging to the people from the devastated treasury of the national culture.

I have often heard how devoted people in Vojvodina are in finding and emphasizing the specific features of this region, which is in fact one of the reasons why the idea of a regional encyclopedia was initiated in Novi Sad. As far as I have been able to figure out, the specific nature of Vojvodina is manifested most convincingly in its multinational character and its growing of grain, as well as because it has had its own particular historical past. Those first two "specific features" are very unspecific, but as for the third, it is worth dwelling on a bit. The essence of the historical past of the Hungarian section of the Danube Valley has consisted of the following since the 15th century: the emergence of the Serbian despots, the Belgrade-Srem metropolitan district, the building of the Fruska Gora monasteries, and then the great resettlement of Serbs under Patriarch Carnojevic III in 1690, the privileges the emperor conferred on the Serbian people, establishment of the Karlovac metropolitan district, the church assemblies attended by the people, the transformation of Serbian culture in the century of enlightenment; and then in turn the Fruska Gora monasteries with their art and literature, the revival of

respect for the Serbian bishops. And then comes the rapid economic growth and enlightenment of the young Serbian bourgeois class and its share in all the national and cultural exertions. The national ideology took shape and was clearly established among the Serbs in the Danube Valley in the 18th century, and that was a valuable and life-giving political yeast for the young Serbian state after the revolution in the early 19th century. And many years later the opting of the Serbs in Hungary for Serbia, 5 days before the unification in 1918, was a consequence of the advanced ethnic consciousness of that nationality.

Those, then, presented in the form of sketches, can be taken as the principal peculiarities which have given Srem and the broader Danube Valley its ethnic, religious and cultural character. That is why on the old geographic maps of the western European provinces showing Hungary the southern regions of what was then a large state are referred to as: Rascia.

Emphasizing the "specific nature" of our present Vojvodina, you are not aware of its real historical identity, which is strikingly manifested by the Fruska Gora monasteries among other things. In this region they are the most outstanding features of the late Middle Ages, of the Serbian ethnos, and of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Srem was long ago referred to as the Holy Fruska Gora Mountain because of its unique group of monasteries. There was some romantic enthusiasm in all of this, but that epithet came from a spiritual source.

The spiritual threads of the Serbian monasteries in the Balkans and of those in Srem have never been severed, nor indeed have they ever become thin. This is confirmed by many historical sources, but also by the origin of the relics of the saints and their followings, the origin of the books of worship; the icons and the other sacred works of art, as well as the travel sketches of monks, copiers, iconographers and painters. Incidentally, Srem, Backa, Banat, Baranja and Slavonia, as well as quite broad regions of Hungary inhabited by Serbs were under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Pec from its very revival in 1557.

The years have passed, now let us go back to the Fruska Gora monasteries.

Have you ever been to the monastery Rakovac, not far from Novi Sad? Have you seen the condition it is in? Do you know that the monastery was established in the late 15th century, that the church, with its trefoil foundation, is reminiscent of monuments of the Moravian-style group. That the Legal Code of Emperor Dusan was copied there in 1700, and then that the Rakovacki Srbljak was written there in 1714, a manuscript book which was prepared for publication and presented for printing in Rimnik in 1761, by Sinesije Zivanovic, Bishop of Arad, who previously had been an archimandrite in Rakovac. The iconostasis was painted in 1763 by the famous baroque Serbian painter Vasilije Ostojic, and nine compositions from the life of Christ were painted in 1768 in the monastery refectory by Ambrosije Jankovic, a Rakovac painter and monk. There was a Partizan hideout in the crypt or mausoleum of Metropolitan Vicentije Jovanovic and in the drainage ditches. Then the German Army and Ustashi came from Sremska Kamenica and Beocin and demolished and devastated the church

and lodges. The iconostasis with about 50 icons was destroyed, and the monastery library and archives were burned. In a voluntary work drive to rebuild the village of Rakovac after the war, a youth work brigade continued the destruction of the monumental buildings of the lodges, and on that occasion the mural of Ambrosije Jankovic was also destroyed. The conservation of the church, which began long ago and had been carried on successfully, was interrupted because of the lack of resources and good sense.

You should also go to visit the monastery Kuvezdin. Its church was dedicated to Saint Sava and Saint Simeon Nemanja, the devotion to whom was nurtured down through the centuries by the monastery. Those two saints were painted by Janko Halkozovic in the icons at the throne in 1972, when he painted the iconostasis of the old church. The present iconostasis and mural are the work of the painter Pavle Simic, member of the academy. You are quite aware that there was also a Partizan hideout in this monastery, a command post, a supply warehouse, and even a workshop making arms. In the spring of 1944 the German Army and Ustashi blew up the church and the lodges. In their fury the Ustashi murdered the innocent nun Paraskeva and heaped the icons from the ruined iconostasis upon her. The destruction of the lodges was continued after the war by the peasant-worker cooperative. A dense thicket of wild black locust trees and other vegetation has now grown up out of the old walls of the ruined lodges, and the snakes make their way through it in the summertime. The rebuilding of the church, which once was started, was abandoned because of the lack of money and judgment.

When will you visit the famous monastery Sisatovac? It was established by the monks who fled from the monastery Zica in the early 16th century. The present stone monastery chapel was built 1758-78 through the patronage of the Archimandrite of Sisatovac Vikentije Popovic, and large contributions were made by Oberkapetan Jovan Monasterlija and Sekula Vitkovic. The Sisatovac tower was built by Colonel Vuk Isakovic, and the chapel on the hill by his brother Captain Trifun Isakovic, better known from Crnjanski's novel "Seobe" [Resettlements]. You probably know that the archimandrite Lukijan, the poet Musicki, served in Sisatovac. Vuk came to visit him from Vienna, and they invited Filip Visnjic to come to the monastery to play folk songs on the gusle for them. Those about the first Serbian uprising were first noted down in Sisatovac. The last iguman of Sisatovac was the painter Rafajlo Momcilovic, member of the academy, whom the Ustashi arrested in late August 1941 and shot in the camp at Slavonska Pozega, where he died the "death of a martyr" on 3 September of that same year. Then there was an Ustasha commissar in Sisatovac, the well-known Filip Ditrih, who "plundered the monastery property mercilessly." For a time a small Ustasha unit was based in the lodges. After its withdrawal the monastery was held by the Partizans. In the crypt, on the west side of the church, there was a store of arms and ammunition, and hand grenades were also made there. When they withdrew, the Partizans on 16 July 1942 set fire to the roofs of the monastery lodges, in order to frustrate the return of the Ustashi in that way. The entire monastery complex was blown up on 16 June 1944. This was done by a German unit with Ustasha help. The dome collapsed, the roof, the pillars, the rafters, the bell tower. In the church the iconostasis of Grigorije Davidovic-Opsic dating from 1793-95 was destroyed. After the war the "Marko Pericin Kamenjar" Peasant-Worker Cooperative of Grgurevci continued

to destroy the monumental building of the classicist lodge, and they were joined in that destruction by the peasants from the monastery village and from the village of Lezimir. Archpriest Vitalije, who has endeavored to rebuild the monastery with voluntary contributions, is now in Sisatovac.

Also go to visit Velika Remeta, whose church with a cruciform foundation and dome was built in the late 15th or early 16th century. It was greatly damaged during the war, the dome was destroyed, the roof was burned, the arches cracked, the iconostasis burned with about 40 icons, and the lodges also were greatly damaged. After the war the local committees from the vicinity carried away building material, even stripping the tiles from the roofs of the lodges, and the agricultural cooperative from Irig even kept its livestock (from 1947 to 1950) in the chapel and lodges. Iguman Danilo is now in Velika Remeta and has done much to gradually rebuild the chapel and lodges. He has received a contribution from the Self-Managing Community of Interest for Culture in Novi Sad to rebuild the dome.

Have you passed by Besenov? Here on the site of an old monastery established in the mid-15th century there are today only two small piles of brick. Weeds have overgrown the land of the former monastery. A photograph taken in 1946 shows that the walls of the chapel and lodges were still rather high, in some places even up to the roof beam, which only means that in that state of damage the monastery could have been rebuilt without major problems. However, the cooperative members and new atheists, too lazy to bake the brick to meet their needs, continued the destruction which was begun in the war and continued carrying away building material. Several tens of thousands of monastery brick, right down to the foundation, were taken over by these unscrupulous people. Now there are neither the small resources nor small awareness it would take to uncover the foundations and thus at least show the appearance of the floor plan of the chapel and lodges.

You might also go to the monastery Zipsa. It also shows the serious damage from the war. There is also a gravestone here dedicated to some 40 fighters in the National Liberation War and local people whom the Ustashi killed and threw into the monastery's great tub where the grapes were pressed.

But other monasteries which were not blown up also suffered serious damage and will never be able to make up what was lost: their valuable archives and libraries were destroyed. What a blow this has been to the writing of Serbian history.

The devastation of the Fruska Gora monasteries has had catastrophic proportions. And lasting consequences. Unfortunately, so little is known about this that it is as though this part of the history of Srem is among the forbidden topics, as though there were a conspiracy of silence. In any case the datum stands that you the responsible provincial politicians have never spoken about the fate of the monuments in Srem during and after the war.

Instead of being concerned about the monuments of culture, you have now displayed your power as politicians and bureaucrats by furnishing billions and billions for "Veliki transport." This shows an utter lack of judgment in

cultural policy. You made the same mistake, you and people like you who are the helmsmen of the ship of provincial cultural policy when you decided in a bad moment to initiate the regional encyclopedia. That "political factory" under construction, conceived without a reliable scientific and ethnic criterion, will greedily gobble up more and more billions of the money of the people in order to become a propaganda and journalistic advertisement for autonomy. An appeal for parcelization. The fostering of a hybrid Vojvodina, provincial science, culture, literature and art.

Srem is even now the region of the despots from the Brankovic family. The region of the Patriarch Arsenije III Carnojevic and Arsenije IV Jovanovic, of Metropolitan Pavle Nenadovic, of Jovan Rajic, Teodor Kracun, Zaharije and Jakov Orfelin, of Dositej Obradovic, Lukijan Musicki, Ilarion Ruvarac and many other writers, painters, spiritual leaders, patrons, citizens known and unknown who made contributions, and of all those who have devotedly served the cultural progress of their people. This is something that should be known by Sreta Kovacevic, Bosko Krunic, Zivan Verisavljevic, Petar Matic-Dule, Dusan Bogdanov-Senko, Zivko Mali, Svetislav Stojakov, Sreta Savic-Kolja, as well as Dusan Popovic, Dusan Alimpic, Nikola Kmezic, Radovan Vlajkovic, Jovan Dejanovic and other officials, figures active in provincial affairs, the "encyclopedists" and the filmophiles. When they realize this, then I believe they will make a decision for the general restoration of historical monuments in Srem.

7045

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